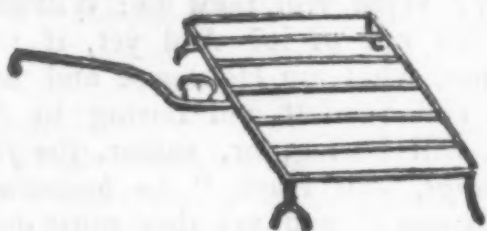


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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[Price 1s.]



## TO THE PEOPLE OF PRESTON.

*On the Election of Mr. Hunt as a Member of Parliament.*

Kensington, 13th December, 1830.

MY EXCELLENT FRIENDS,

THAT which you have now done has given delight to every good man in England who is a competent judge of the matter; but, amongst all the millions that are delighted, not one man, I very believe, feels *half so much delighted at it as I do*. The thing has in it every-thing that is good and nothing that is bad. It is, as a friend of mine observed last night, a picture that is enchanting in every part; the back of the picture has its charms, and even the wood that goes round it. You are, doubtless, proud of your achievement; but even you yourselves do not see, I am sure, half the good that you have done; and especially you do not see half, no, nor a tenth part of, the reasons that *I have* to be delighted with this event, which is the work of your hands. Some of these reasons I will state to you.

FIRST. The men who have taken the lead in this thing, Messrs. IRVIN and MITCHELL, the first a SCOTCHMAN and the other an ENGLISHMAN, are two of the very best men that Great Britain contains. The former was my most zealous friend; always sober, always steady in his conduct, marked by probity in all his proceedings, disinterested in the extreme. Mr. MITCHELL, who was one of the victims of SIDMOUTH, 1817, was the first man that took large parcels of my "TWO-PENNY TRASH" down into Lancashire. He is an honest,

sincere and most disinterested friend of freedom; and has the further great and unequivocal merit of having been most infamously calumniated by the GREAT LIAR OF THE NORTH, the base and hypocritical BAINES of Leeds. Mr. JOHNSTONE, too, it appears, who also outlived the dungeons of Sidmouth, had a prominent hand in this good work; this work of *just vengeance* on the base boroughmonger crew, and on all the vile miscreants who have been their abettors, to the whole of whom it is a slap in the face that makes the lights dance before them.

SECOND. To come a little more to detail, what can equal, what breast can conceive, the pleasure that I feel at the pulling down, at the casting out, of the proud, the haughty, the insolent STANLEY! In the whole world there was not a man, Sidmouth and his surviving colleagues and Burdett and Hobhouse excepted, that I detested a thousandth part so much as this STANLEY, whose father, by the by, was the *foreman of the grand-jury* who decided on the bills connected with the Manchester slaughter, in 1819, or, at least, who, in Parliament, defended the proceedings upon that occasion. This STANLEY behaved to me, *personally*, in the most insulting manner; and I told him, when he called me "the person on my right hand," that the day would come, when he would be glad to forget that insolence. Thanks to you, my excellent friends, that day is come and coming; you have given him a *foretaste* of that which he has yet to experience. His first shove downwards is a pretty good one; but, good God! how low is he destined to go! His next move is into some rotten hole, stinking of corruption worse than the corpse of Heliogabalus at the end of a month in the dog-days. How insolent he was even up to the hour when his degradation had actually began! Look at his speech in reply to Messrs. IRVIN and MITCHELL (in another part of this Register): look at his disdainful, look

at his contemptuous, language; look at the aristocratical prig, crammed with the conceit that he had just entered, on the career of official power; see the future Pitt in idea, and wonder how the insulted crowd could have kept their hands off him. The proud reptile has, however, got the best sort of blow, and in the best place; and now let him, after being dragged through some villanous hole of corruption, go over to regale the noses of the potato-eaters on the other side of St. George's Channel, where the people lie down and receive the extreme unction in preparation for death from starvation. Let him go covered, as I saw him, with the spittle of the pretty girls of Preston.

THIRD. The triumph over the base and greedy and ferocious *attorneys* is no trifling matter. These at once insolent and servile vagabonds; these hard, these brow-beating, these impudent vagabonds, now complain of having been rudely treated, *overawed*, and even *beaten*. I have only one single question to ask on this subject: Is there a whole bone left in any one of the skins of any one of these obdurate vagabonds? If there be, they have been treated with too much lenity. OLD GRIMSHAW, too, was the MAYOR again! What a triumph over OLD NIE!

FOURTH. And where are now the rich ruffians of MASTERS, who bade their men not to vote for me on pain of starvation? I told them, only last winter, and to their faces, that *their day of humiliation was near at hand*. And the *Manchester magistrates* and *Parson Hay*, and the yeomanry cavalry, who chopped down, or shot or trampled under foot, hundreds of innocent persons who met to *petition for parliamentary reform*? Where are the managers of the *inquest at Oldham*? Where are the magistrates of Bolton, who put John Hayes in prison for ten weeks, for announcing that I was come home in *good health*? And where are the rich ruffians of Manchester, who came in crowds to insult me as I come back from Preston? And where is Squire Lavender, who knocked the people down like cattle, because they gathered about the door to shake

me by the hand? Where are they all? Do they not begin to think that the hour of retribution is arrived?

FIFTH. But the fellows in the *House itself*! What will they do? Will they all run out of it? And yet, if they do not, what are Hobhouse and Burdett and Scarlett and Baring to do? And will Baring, or, rather, the *four Barings*, call Hunt "the *honourable gentleman*?" and yet they must do it, or leave all he says unnoticed. But, Baring! How is this fellow to get down the bitter bolus! He and SCARLETT, in particular, have taken occasion, in that House, to speak contemptuously of "the *blackening-man*," more especially BARING; and here, in order to show to what an extent this loan-monger will now be mortified, I must stop to take from the Register a letter from me to Baring, enclosing a letter from "the *blackening-man*" to the loan-man. The letters are curious, particularly as relating to the *warnings which they contain*. How *serious* Baring will look as he re-peruses these letters now! He will begin to think, that the profit of loans, and that rotten boroughs, are not *every thing*. He will begin to imagine, that "the *itinerant patriots*" had, after all, some little *foresight*. And will he not begin to smell, that that *inquiry*, which I tell him will come, is not a thing wholly impossible? For my part, if I thought that inquiry, a *strict inquiry*, as to *how* men, without any visible means, came to gain *millions* of money, while the industrious farmer, tradesman, artizan and labourer were sinking down into poverty and starvation; if I thought that strict inquiry would not be made into this matter; if I thought that parliamentary reform would not, and right speedily too, produce such inquiry, *I should despair of the country*. But, now, before I go any further, let us see those letters of and about "the *blackening-man*" to the loan-man. What a convenient thing this Register is! It serves every-body to dip into. It has said every-thing beforehand. When any event takes place, I have only to look back to the time when I foretold it.



But, now, loan-monger, do sit down, surrounded with your whole brood of members of Parliament, and read these letters over again.

**'TO ALEXANDER BARING,  
LOAN-MONGER.**

*Barn-Elm Farm, 29th April, 1829.*

BARING,

WHAT do you think of the thing now? Do you think that it is now under the workings of a *hot fit* or *cold fit*? And, have you any idea when the thing will be well again, or when it will get better? *If you live a few years, BARING, there will come a time for Mr. HUNT to remind you, with all due form and ceremony, of the Speech you made about him in Parliament, in 1826; and that you may be prepared, by having the thing somewhat fresh in your memory, I here insert a copy of the letter which he wrote to you on that occasion. I call you LOAN-MONGER, monger meaning dealer, and you being a notorious dealer in loans. Mr. HUNT has, as the public will see, given you, with great propriety, the same name. The letter of Mr. HUNT was as follows.*

*36, Stamford-street, Feb. 14, 1826.*

SIR,

"I see by the report of the Parliamentary proceedings, published in the newspapers this morning, that you have done me the honour to notice me and my business as a manufacturer of blacking, in your second speech upon the Currency last night, in the Honourable House. (Vide *Morning Herald* this day.) 'The *Blacking-man* would go round with other itinerant patriots; and, the stomachs of the people being empty, and their ears open, they would believe every thing which was told them with *too great credulity*.'—In the first place, permit me, Sir, to offer you my best thanks for thus publicly advertising my blacking within the walls of the House of Commons, and for which I beg your acceptance of a bottle of my very best matchless.—Having done this, I take leave to add, *when that crisis of National distress arrives, which you so feelingly anticipate, and to the bringing*

*"about of which no man has contributed with a more unsparing hand than Alexander Baring; then, Sir, the Blacking-man, as you in your elegant phraseology are pleased to call him, will be found quite as good and efficient a member of the community, whether within or without the walls of Parliament, as the Loan-Monger or the Stock-Monger.*

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"H. HUNT.

"To Alexander Baring, Esq., M.P."

Now, loan-monger, or loan-man, do you believe that there is any person of sense in the whole country that does not think a blacking-man as good as a loan-man or a stock-man? *Let the crisis come, and do you believe that no inquiry is to take place with regard to the past!* The blacking-man will have been found to have had nothing to do in producing the crisis: not so with others; and, for my part, I should despise the man who would be content *unless full inquiry and investigation were gone into.* You thought that you might, with perfect impunity, throw out your imputation against *"the Blacking-man"* and his *"fellow-patriots,"* as you sneeringly call them. I trust I shall live to see you more modest. I remember you for very nearly thirty years past in this country; and I also remember you in another country. I shall say no more to you at present. Having just reminded you of these things, I shall leave you to ruminate upon them, until we shall see you come forth with an apology, I suppose, for the strange state of things which we now behold.

WM. COBBETT.

There, Baring, take that, and, like a good, well-behaved loan-monger, "watch the turn of the market" for something more. You have, amongst you, already got the estates of five or six LORDS and those of a dozen or two of 'SQUIRES; these are the "nice pickings" of one single family of loan-mongers; and yet the oafs fawn upon you, and encourage you in attacking all those who stand forward for the people! You have, amongst you, four seats in Par-

liament. Now, then, call the "black-ing-man" the "honourable gentleman"; and from that day lead what life you may. From the moment you pronounce those words, you will feel yourself an altered man, and you will begin seriously to calculate the consequences. I wish (God forgive me!) that the saucy and calumnious Canning were *still alive*! How many of these fellows have been cunning enough to slip out of the way! There are some, however, who remain; and let us hope that the day of reckoning with them is not far off.

These, my excellent friends, are amongst the many reasons for which I offer you my thanks upon this occasion, and for which you merit, and will receive, the thanks of every good and sensible man in the country. Then, it must be such a gratification to the good fellows of the North, who have, for so many years, been kept down like so many slaves; who have been dragooned and crammed into jails and dungeons by scores; who have been knocked about by police fellows, as if they had been so many cattle, under goads and cudgels of drovers. I remember that, in 1817, a weaver, who was going over the bridge at Blackburn, in Lancashire, met a drunken Irish soldier, who, in a frolic perhaps, snatched the hat off his head, and flung it over the bridge. The poor weaver, thus robbed of his hat (in a cold winter's day), seized the soldier, who instantly drew forth his bayonet, which made the weaver let go his hold, but it did not prevent him from reproaching the ruffian. A parson happening to come up, "That's right," said he to the soldier: "that's right; *trample them under your feet*!"

You, my good friends, have, in this one act, avenged all your ill-treated countrymen as well as yourselves. You have given pleasure to every oppressed man in the country, and, which is more valuable still, pain to every corrupt villain. So that here is a *positive good*. You have given a pang to the heart of every parson in Hampshire and Wiltshire; and to ninety-nine hundredths of the rest. I will not anticipate *disappointment* on your part; but, be the

*future* what it may, here is a good *done*; here is a *pleasure enjoyed*. The devil himself, if left to work his free will, cannot take *that* from us. I enjoy of this pleasure a greater portion than any other man; and, therefore, I owe you a greater portion of gratitude.

But, now, WHAT PART AM I PREPARED TO ACT towards the man that you have chosen? I dare say that this question has been put a hundred thousand times; and I will answer it frankly and fully. In the first place every *private consideration* shall be banished from my mind; the remembrance of all things injurious, or intended to be injurious, to me, shall be blotted out of that mind. But, this is on the condition that he *do his duty*, the contrary of which I will not anticipate, and which contrary would be exceedingly mortifying to me, because it would be mortifying to you, and because it would cast a slur on the cause of radical reform. This, however, as I said before, I will not anticipate even hypothetically; and, therefore, I am prepared to give him all the support in my power in the effecting of every good that he shall attempt to effect.

Nay, I shall even go further than this; for I shall be ready to call upon you for patience and indulgence towards him, knowing, as I do, the great *difficulties* that he will have to encounter. You will expect a *great deal at his hands*, and a great deal you will have a *right* to expect; but, observe, there must be *time* for it: and, if the effort does not, *all at once*, come up to your expectations, it will be but reasonable in you to see the impediments that are to be overcome. A length of time, indeed, such as the "city-cock," Waithman, has taken would be a little too much: *fourteen years* I should not like to see you wait for the fruit of your labours and sacrifices, and not to get it even then; No: that would certainly be to carry patience to too great an extent. But still I say that you ought to be patient; and that you ought to put, as I shall, the most candid construction upon every act, whether of commission or of omission.



Such shall be my conduct, and such, I hope, will be yours. As to the *petition* against the return, which the fool STANLEY is talking about, on what *ground* are the fellows to petition? They are pretty fellows, indeed, to talk about petitioning! They, who had Old GRIMSHAW'S TRAPS and DRAGOONS to keep me out; they complain that you have beaten *the Attorneys*. Have you left a morsel of the carcasses of those base ruffians unbruised? *Have* you? If you have, I shall never forgive you, unless you prove to me that you could not get at those carcasses. What! is an election to be set aside because you have thumped those brazen vagabonds who so baited you at my election; fellows that nature seems to have made to be food for carrion-crows! Is an election to be set aside for this! STANLEY "protested," did he? and so did I, and he laughed at me, and Old Nic laughed, and Corruption laughed.

A *petition*, indeed! Those who have given him his fat place and a good parcel of the public money, *may*, indeed, let him petition; but he will not do it without their assent, and I do not think it likely that he will get that. There *was*, indeed, a *time* when such a petition would have been sure to succeed; but that time is gone by. But, suppose the petition to come, and to succeed, all the world will see that you will have been beaten *by money*; all the world will see that you will have been defeated by foul means; and the effect will be universal indignation against STANLEY and his patrons. Besides, this petition cannot be presented until *after the recess*. It will be the *month of May* before it can be put Baring's "blackening-man" out. He will be amongst them, sitting alongside of Baring and Scarlett, for *three months*, at the least; and three months is a pretty good spell; it is length of time sufficient for the *doing* of something. By that time, too, the great question of *parliamentary reform* will have been discussed, if not finally settled. The Parliament will adjourn in about *a week*; but there is plenty of time for *taking the seat before that*, and for making a

*beginning*, at any rate. Old shilly-shally Burdett used to tell us, that *no man* could do any-thing in that House. Every one said, "You'd better not go there, then." His seat certainly has been of no use to any-body but *himself*. It has given him about 200*l.* a year in the right of sending and receiving letters free of that tax, which his constituents have had to pay all the while. But, though *he* could do nothing, another may do something.

When WAITHMAN got into Parliament, I, who was then in Long Island, wrote over to say, that he would now be put to the *test*, and would be found to be worth nothing; or, at least, that such I feared would be the result. I observed that he was the city-cock, trimmed and spurred for the battle; that all eyes were upon him; that the expectation was very great, and that as great would be the disappointment. Waithman, however, had brass; but, as I reminded him, though brass was a good thing, in such a case, "*bare* brass, brass and NOTHING ELSE," would certainly not do. And such has been the result. He has been in the House *thirteen or fourteen years*, and we do not experience a feather less of calamity and disgrace than we should have suffered if he had never been there. However, those were to blame who expected any-thing good from him; for, however honest he *might* have been, what good soever there might be in his *wishes*, men should have seen, as I saw, that he wanted the *talent* necessary to the effecting of any good; and by talent I did not mean the faculty of pouring words, however volubly and at whatever length, to the delight and wonder of the Guildhall auditors; I did not mean this capacity of pouring out words, but I meant the possession of *knowledge*. A man that knows nothing can *do* nothing, except injure any cause that he attempts to support; and this was precisely the case with Waithman. The worst of it is, too, that, in proportion to the lack of knowledge is always the *conceit*; that is to say, that the latter is great in the exact proportion that the former is small. What, in all the world,

did this poor vain man, though amply supplied with brass, *know*; what did, what could, he *know* about the various important matters that came before him? What knew he about the *causes* of the public decline and distress? What knew he about the relative interests and power of foreign states? What knew he about the effects of our colonial system? And, did he really know *what colonies we had*? The boroughmongers say, that if we had a radical-reform, we should choose *none but such men as this*. Several such might be chosen *at first*; but the people would quickly discover their error; they would soon feel that a fool's friendship is more dangerous than his wrath; and Waithman never would have been elected a second time, if the people of London had been free to choose whom they pleased. The man in the fable, who had set up a *wooden god*, prayed to him a long while for various purposes and in various emergencies, but finding that god *did nothing* for him, he took his axe and chopped him up for fuel. We could not chop Waithman up without a violation of the law; but his talk has long been of no more consequence than the rattle of the hackney coaches.

Let us hope that we are now to have better things. At any rate, my friends, you have done your duty, and you, particularly Messrs. IRVIN and MITCHELL, have the hearty thanks of

Your faithful Friend  
And most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—I have, from the PRESTON PILOT, inserted, at full length, an account of all the proceedings at this election, which no London paper has done. No, no: they see *the blow falling*, and they know where it will alight. They will, when Mr. HUNT takes his seat, do every thing that they can to sink him, and to render his efforts of no avail; because, if our cause triumph, they *fall*; their foul monopoly is extinguished. They will, therefore, make use of their base *Reporters* to misrepresent him; to hold

him up in a *ludicrous light*; to get a laugh set up against him; or they will *suppress* what he says, as they have done with regard to O'Connell. However, they will not, and they *shall* not, succeed in any of these things. There is nothing like *resolutions*, single or in sets, *moved and seconded*, and *put into print*; and they may be treated to a *stinger* of this sort every three or four days. In this manner the *good things* got by all their families may be exposed, and some subject of indignation may constantly be kept before the public. In the course of a Session, the whole thing may be, by *two men*, laid as *bare* as a callow mouse. I do hope that a *second* man will be found; but I know that one man can do much; aye, and very nearly break up the concern, or make them break it up themselves. And now I dismiss the matter for the present, leaving Baring and Scarlett to call Mr. Hunt "*honourable gentleman*." Come, come; open your shoulders, and swallow the bolus with a good grace! And, there is one Baring *in office* too! Just making a *beginning*; a little nibble at us. Oh! what a pity to mar so fair a prospect! However, down the thing must come.

#### THE PRESTON ELECTION.

THE Radical Reformers put out a placard, calling upon the electors to return Mr. Hunt; besides that nothing occurred till Sunday, when we observed posted on the walls two papers, one being the transcript of a letter from Mr. Baines, of the *Leeds Mercury*, headed "Mr. Mitchell, the companion of Oliver, the Spy," and the other, a notice requesting the supporters of the right hon. E. G. Stanley to meet him at the Bull Inn at ten o'clock the following morning. Mr. Stanley arrived on Sunday evening.

#### MONDAY.

Mr. Stanley's friends made their calls at the Bull Inn, in the course of the morning, and handbills were issued stating that the right hon. Gentleman had signified his intention of speaking at one o'clock. At that hour some thousands had assembled in front of the inn, and shortly after the right hon. candidate appeared at one of the windows, and spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen,—When I last addressed you from this place I certainly had very little expectation that, in so short a time, I should have occasion to address you again. We meet



here, gentlemen, under circumstances, as they regard the country, materially altered, but with my sentiments, my opinions, and my principles remaining, as they were then, unchanged and unchangeable. Such as they were then, such they are now; such as my principles were out of office, such are they now that I am in office. Such as has been my conduct while in opposition to the late government, such shall be my conduct as a supporter of the present administration. Gentlemen, it will be unnecessary to trouble you with entering very much at length respecting those principles and professions which I have uniformly made with one mind, and which have actuated my public conduct. I feel it due to you, under the present circumstances, so short a period elapsing previous to the commencement of the election as to prevent me from offering myself to you on a personal canvass, and submitting myself to such investigation as you might think fit, and as you have a right to demand, under such circumstances; I say, I have felt it due to you to request your attendance here, in order that I may have an opportunity of justifying my conduct in accepting office. The principles under which the new administration has been formed are well known, and they are such that I can give to them my pledged and cordial support. Gentlemen, when I last met you here I told you my opinion on both the principal questions which were then likely to engage the attention of parliament on its meeting. I told you my sentiments both with respect to our relations with foreign powers, and to affairs at home. I called on you to watch the conduct of your representatives in parliament on that first and most important question, the consideration of the civil list. Gentlemen, I then felt that the administration of the Duke of Wellington had for a year previous been tottering to its foundation; and that it had been tottering, not from any factious and party violence, from no combination of parties, but that it was tottering from its own adherent weakness, because it was not relying on that which could alone give it strength, namely, the great strength of public opinion. Gentlemen, I told you then that to expect any more good from that administration was so hopeless, that I determined, however reluctantly, to enter into uncompromising opposition to the government. Gentlemen, I may say as candidly as I ever said any thing in my life, that it was my ardent and my anxious hope that the Duke of Wellington would see his error in time; and that the administration would carry into operation those principles which we had recommended to them. Such I hoped would be the case, and for this reason, because if the Duke of Wellington, proceeding in opposition to public opinion, should still refuse those salutary reforms that public opinion requires, I felt great alarm lest, in the present state of the House of Commons, he would have been able to support himself against public opinion, and to bring about a public con-

vulsion. I hoped that, on altered principles, they might have remained in power, but on the very first division of the House of Commons it was shaken to pieces. That event was so far beyond my anticipation, that I confess I I dared not look to it. I did not venture to hope that on the very first occasion public opinion would so prevail against the government that in one moment the whole fabric should fall to the ground, or that another should be formed in a week after, solely upon the support of public opinion, and that such is the case with the present government I do not hesitate to express my most perfect conviction, nay more, with public opinion only to look to to support them. They do know that they have against them all those gentlemen who were returned to the House in the interest of the administration, but, in defiance of that, they know no doubt that, if they set conscientiously to their work, they will be supported by public opinion, and be enabled to carry their measures into effect. My object in becoming a member of the existing administration was because I felt it to be an administration founded on those principles which, through evil report and good report, I have honestly advocated, and I ventured to hope that in taking office under it I might be enabled to give it more effectual support than I could as a mere member of parliament. Gentlemen, the questions on which I opposed the late administration were shortly three, and I support the present administration because it holds opposite opinions upon these three. Those were, our policy with relation to foreign powers, parliamentary reform, and retrenchment in the expenditure of the government. Gentlemen, when the Duke of Wellington put into the mouth of his royal Master that most unfortunate speech, in which there was not only no sympathy expressed towards those great and glorious events which had occurred in Paris and at Brussels, but, from what was to be implied, rather a regret that those things had taken place, public opinion was loudly expressed; still the feeling was not strong enough to remove him from office, but when, in defiance of public opinion, so lately and so generally expressed, he ventured to declare in his place in the House of Peers, that under no circumstances whatever should the smallest alteration take place in the representation of the House of Commons, in an instant his power was at an end, his supporters shrunk from him, and his government fell to ruin. (Applause.) Gentlemen, the existing government has at least this claim to your kind indulgence and favourable consideration, that it is a government, the members of which have lately been, or are, the representatives of great and populous places, and if any of you here present will take the trouble of availing yourselves of those means which are within every man's reach, and of looking to the places which the members of the late administration and the present represented, you will find that to be the case, while not one of the mem-

bers of the late government sat for any place of more consequence than a rotten borough, such places merely to which the right of free election has not extended. I will now recite to you a few of the places for which the members of the new government sit, and, having done so, I think I may venture to appeal to public opinion for its support. Amongst the first, I need scarcely state that the highest office is filled by a man too well known to require any observation here. When I say the Lord Chancellor is Mr. Brougham, who has been more distinguished for his exertions in the cause of the people than any other man, and that he was gratuitously returned as one of the members for Yorkshire, I need say nothing more to convince you that public opinion is at least here on the side of the people and the government. Next there is Lord Althorp, the member for Northamptonshire; Sir James Graham, one of the members for the county of Cumberland; Mr. Wynne, member for the county of Montgomery; Mr. Charles Grant, member for the county of Inverness; Lord Palmerston, one of the members for the University of Cambridge; Mr. Poulett Thomson, one of the members for Dover; Mr. Ellice, one of the members for the city of Coventry; Mr. Robert Grant, one of the members for the city of Norwich; Mr. Spring Rice, member for the city of Limerick; and I hope to be able to add Mr. Stanley, the member for Preston. (Hear, and laughter.) Now, gentlemen, when I tell you these are all men in whom the great towns and counties have placed the confidence to return them at the last election, I have not stated above half the case, because in all the elections that have since taken place not only has not one been turned out, but every one has been re-elected by his constituents, without the administration being offered the shadow of opposition. I say it is a proud gratification to this administration that it can so appeal to public opinion. With regard to the measures on which the present administration are pledged, they stand pledged to maintain peace by all means in their power, consistently with the safety of the state, to keep at peace with all foreign powers; they stand pledged to bring forward a decided, sound, and effectual measure of parliamentary reform; they stand pledged to the strictest economy and retrenchment, and to begin that retrenchment in the higher situations of the government. It is my earnest and anxious wish, as it must be the most anxious and earnest wish of all who feel it impossible that the burdens of the country can be added to, that peace, at whatever hazard, shall be maintained; and I think I may say that it is chiefly owing to the change of administration that peace has been maintained. Previous to the declaration of the late government, we have reason to believe that Russia, Prussia, and Austria, frightened at the turn of affairs in France, alarmed at the progress of better opinions, and fearing for the safety of all despotic governments, would have

interfered in the affairs of Belgium. They hoped that England would remain at all events neuter, and so give them support in opposition to liberated France and liberated Belgium; but when the change took place they knew they had no such hopes. They know the present administration is not one to take up the cause of despotism against the cause of the people. They knew that if they press that circumstance they will have against them, heart and hand together, the people and government of England. They know that England and France are united, and they know that if France and England be combined, they may defy the efforts of Europe and the world. (Applause.) I say by the great and cordial union which exists between France and England, but which would not have been the case with the late government, we have the means of restoring the repose of Europe. Gentlemen, I will now address you on the important and difficult question of parliamentary reform. Gentlemen, it may be known to you that amongst those who support the doctrines of parliamentary reform there are some who go further than I can, others who stop short, and some who wish to confine their reform within such limits that I can consider it no reform at all; again, there are those who stand pledged to oppose all reform. Now, the present government are pledged to bring forward a specific measure. They are pledged to bring it forward; and if so, it may be considered carried, and it can only be delayed or defeated by discord and disunion. This is the time when the government has a right to call on all reformers to give them their hearts and hands in carrying this measure. There is now such an opportunity for reform as never before occurred, and it will be the fault of all Reformers themselves if by their dissensions they prevent the carrying the great principle into effect. Gentlemen, I hold in my hand an address, which I believe has been circulated and is signed by individuals of no very high pretensions, calling upon you not to support me, and bringing forward two charges against me, which, though insignificant, and contemptible as I may think this paper to be, I shall, in deference to you, say a few words upon. You are told that since you elected me I have sold you. ("You have.") I am told that I am unworthy of being returned by you because I am called a placeman. There are, gentlemen, a certain number of persons who learn certain terms by heart, and who can apply them with about as much understanding as a parrot taught to repeat the same words. I meet with these expressions in this paper, and I ask them what they mean? Sell you? How? You elected me as your representative at the last election: I went to Parliament, and carried into effect the principles I avowed here. I accepted office under a government whose principles I uniformly supported; and then resigned my seat and came back to ask you to exercise again your privilege, and return me or not. I say the man when he wrote this, un-



derstood no more what he was writing about than a parrot would. Now, Gentlemen, one word about place. That I hold one under the Government is very true: that I hope to do some good is my humble but very confident feeling. I am not much absent from my duty; never I hope when wanted, but, whenever I can, I do get away to enjoy the pleasures and amusements of a country life, and a person with those feelings is not very likely to prefer the anxieties of a responsible and laborious office, which requires my attendance not merely during the sitting of Parliament, but for the remainder of the year. I should be open to low abuse and obnoxious to the charges generally made against placemen if I were one of those who took the money of the country and did nothing for it. This paper desires you to beware of a Whig administration, that it will bring forward no practical reform. How they obtained knowledge of this I know not; because I believe it impossible that the Cabinet could have agreed upon what they are going to propose. But so far as the general scheme and substance is to be collected from what has been said by Lord Grey, a man, by the way, not in the habit of saying one thing and meaning another, he said that reform would be carried to the extent of satisfying the wishes of the public, consistent with the safety of the existing establishments of the country. I am told in this paper, that by those establishments are meant the *rotten boroughs*. It is really ludicrous so to pervert the plainest terms. Lord Grey only wishes to limit his reform to that point which shall be necessary to preserve to each of the three estates of King, Lords and Commons, its due share of power, and those who wish to throw into any one of them such a preponderating influence that may destroy the balance, seek not reform but *revolution*. Such reform and such revolution will never, I am confident, be supported by the good sense of the people; and I trust there is not one in ten thousand who would not resist by every means in their power a *revolutionary reform*. (Applause.) Lord Grey has a right to demand that you will not condemn him unheard, and that you ought to consider the difficulties of carrying an extended measure through Parliament; and to rely on his sincerity to do every thing consistently with the safety of the institutions of the country. Not three nights ago, the Duke of Newcastle appealed to Lord Grey, and counselled that noble Lord to see the propriety, in the present disturbed state of the country, of not pressing the question just now, something intimating that his conduct and that of other noble Lords would be regulated accordingly. Without one moment's delay his Lordship said the state of the country was one reason why it should be done, and that the question must be brought forward now. I hope that this declaration given in such a place and at such a time will be taken as further evidence of the sincerity of Lord Grey. Gentlemen, I have a very few

words to say with respect to economy and retrenchment. It is further earnest of the future, that in the short fortnight since the present Government have been in office many places of amount have been suppressed; places not bestowed upon the lower ranks, or supporting poor clerks, but places giving power to the holders and influence to Ministers. I may enumerate a few. There is the office of Post-master General of Ireland, lately held by Lord Rosse, has now been abolished; and the Vice-treasurer and Deputy Vice-treasurer of Ireland, the two making 3500l. a-year, have been abolished, and the duties are to be performed by a clerk receiving 200l. a-year. The office of Master of the Mint has also been added to another office, and the duties of both are performed for one salary. The office of Treasurer of the Navy is in like manner held with that of Vice-president of the Board of Trade, and one gentleman performs the duties of the two departments. Now, thus far the Government affords pretty safe evidence of its intentions with regard to economy and retrenchment. Naming the gentleman who fills the office of Vice-president of the Board of Trade leads me to another question of importance to you who live in manufacturing districts. I mean free-trade, the question of removing all those burdens and shackles which hang upon trade without producing any benefit. Although no specific measures have as yet been taken, the appointment of Mr. Powlett Thomson is a sufficient security, for amongst the many able advocates of free-trade, there is no man who has expressed himself more strongly or more ably than that gentleman. Gentlemen, I believe I have now called your attention to all the principal features in which the present government is materially at variance with the late. I have only to say, that as the present government rests exclusively on public opinion, it can only hope to carry its wise and salutary measures by the aid of the members of large places confident that, as those places will institute inquiry into the conduct of those they send, their members become so many testimonials in favour of the conduct of the Government. (The right hon. Gentleman here again alluded to his political principles, and repeated his explanations respecting his appointment to office; after which he proceeded as follows:.) I do not understand that any real and substantive opposition will be offered. (A cry of "Hunt" was here raised.) Those who called out "Hunt" must remember that he said the time was not come when the people of Preston could elect him. He has, therefore, no hope of success, and you will not see him here. If he does come here, it will not be as a candidate, and I feel assured that this putting him in nomination is done merely with a view of creating some trifling disturbance in the town, and for the disgraceful purpose of occasioning that expense which it is my firm determination to avoid if possible. I hope the good sense of

Preston will come forward as one man to scout *this silly opposition*, and I hope it will be put down by a strong expression of that opinion which, I am sure, the *respectable part of the people entertain*. The right hon. Gentleman then thanked the electors for the attention they had bestowed, and was about to retire, when he returned to say that he heard that some notion was entertained that votes might be split upon Mr. Hunt and himself. He was shortly going to attend to his duties in Ireland, and if the proposition had come from *natives of that country he should not have been surprised*. He begged to remind the electors that there were no split votes on the occasion. The contest was between himself and a nameless candidate, and to split votes was only throwing away the exercise of the franchise.

The crowd heard the right hon. Gentleman with the most respectful attention, and when he had concluded, they dispersed. Nothing particular transpired during the day.

#### TUESDAY.—THE NOMINATION.

This being the day of nomination, there was much hurrying towards the Corn Exchange at an early hour, and by about half-past nine half the area was closely occupied with electors. Just after ten, the Returning Officers (Nicholas Grimshaw, the Mayor, and Mr. S. R. Grimshaw, and Mr. H. P. Fleetwood, Bailiffs), accompanied by the members of the corporation, arrived, and took their places just in the centre of the gallery on the western side. On the right stood the right hon. E. G. Stanley and his friends, and on the left we observed Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Irvin, Mr. Johnston, and other known supporters of Mr. Hunt.

The court was then opened, and the proclamation, act of parliament, &c., read by R. Palmer, Esq., the Town-clerk. These forms being disposed of, there was nothing left to do but to proceed with the more interesting matters of the day.

The MAYOR.—“If any gentleman has a candidate to offer he must offer him now; and I have to request that you will all keep silence, and conduct yourselves decently and orderly during this election.”

W. SHAWE, Esq.—The electors had so recently exercised their privilege in the election of representatives for the borough, that he trusted he should not be deemed presumptuous in soliciting a renewal of their confidence in favour of the same individual whom he had the honour of proposing so short a time ago. Mr. Stanley had been called by his sovereign to assist in the councils of the state: he had obeyed that call, and came forward to give his talents and his services to his King and country at this important crisis. He was destined to assist in the Government of an important part of the empire, and to fulfil the duties of an office of great importance, and which would occupy a considerable portion of his time. In accepting office, he was bound by the practice of the constitution to resign his seat. He had

resigned accordingly and again appeared before the electors to ask them for a renewal of their confidence. Mr. Shawe proceeded, amid considerable interruption, to eulogise the principles and conduct of Mr. Stanley, and finally proposed the right hon. Gentleman as a fit and proper person to be one of the representatives of Preston. (The nomination was received with approbation from the galleries, and much displeasure from the area.)

J. LAWE, Esq., briefly seconded the nomination.

The MAYOR.—Is any other candidate proposed?

Mr. Irvin rose to address the electors.

The MAYOR said it was his duty to inform Mr. Irvin, that if he nominated a candidate in his absence, and that candidate refused to undertake the expenses of the booths, &c., he (Mr. Irvin) made himself liable to be called on for payment of half.

Mr. IRVIN.—I understand that is the case, sir. Gentlemen: I am here once more before you, this is the fourth time I am come to nominate a man for your adoption or rejection. He is, in my opinion and belief, the man most eligible, if you are masters of your own minds. (From the crowd, “We are not.”) He is a man who will serve you honestly and faithfully. The man I mean to nominate always stood forward honestly and disinterestedly in behalf of the rights and liberties of the people. He has always advocated them on constitutional grounds. Mr. Stanley says the Government have adopted temperate reform. Now, gentlemen, what is temperate reform? (A voice, “To fill the pockets full of gold.”) Temperate reform amounts to this: to moderation a moderate thing. Now, I will just ask him in the way of a little *anumalegy*. (Loud Laughter.) If I use bad grammar, I trust the reporters will screen me. I was not bred up classically like some of the gentlemen on my right hand, but if I speak plain English that will do for you. (Cheers.) Now to the word moderate. Now, if either of you had a bad wife, in need of reform, would you have her moderately or really good? (“Good, good,” and laughter.) Now, if you want the parliament changed, would you have it moderately good or really good? (“Really good.”) I should think so. That is plain sense. And if you can get a really good person it is better than a moderately good person, and so we would have real reform instead of moderate reform. That is plain sense. The other I call nominal reform. And yet after that he says it is to be effectual. Now, if I understand grammar (much laughter), effectual means that we have obstacles to surmount, and efficacious means that some obstacle has been surmounted. Now, I wish to know this from the right hon. Gentleman. I wish to ask him a few questions. Mr. Stanley says he is for moderate reform. When he sat for Woodbridge, no, Stockbridge, I believe it was. As learned Divines read their sermons, I may refer to my paper, I suppose. (Mr.



Irwin here referred to a paper in his hand.) When he was member for Stockbridge, I think it was Mr. Hume who brought on a motion only to inquire into the enormous revenues of the bishops of Ireland, what year I forget, and Mr. Stanley had the goodness to vote against that very inquiry. Now, I wish him to answer that, that we may come to see the truth. I have two or three more. Now, I wish to ask Mr. Stanley relative to the rectifying of abuses and corruptions. Another thing, he voted against the Beer-bill. He said it would demoralise and corrupt the morals of the people. He was not willing that you should get your ale at 1s. 6d. or 1s. 8d. a gallon. That would be too cheap for you. But he buys it and is charged 2s. 6s. a gallon, and he is obliged to pay, and he grudges you 1s. 6d. I told you last time not to drink, but this time, if he opens his houses, I tell you to drink as much as you can. I did not hear Mr. Stanley yesterday, a gentleman from the north called upon me and detained me at home on business, but I understand he alluded to something; I was not present, and I do not wish to say any-thing that is untrue; he alluded to some contemptible people who had signed a paper. He made use of the word contemptible. That was a hard attack upon us, for that individual to call us contemptible. I believe the authorities will not hold me in a contemptible light because I am poor. I am poor that is true. Now, gentlemen, if you take my advice you will get as much drink as you can, and please yourselves about voting afterwards. (Laughter.) Now, I ask how he comes to oppose universal suffrage so much, when, in his address, he is calling you independent electors. Here we enjoy universal suffrage, and here he raises his voice against universal suffrage. That is not very consistent. He has been some time standing before you to solicit your support on the ground of universal suffrage. I like to be consistent, and if you prefer moderate reform to real, support Mr. Stanley. Why not, if you will have moderation? I believe the Bill of Rights says no placeman shall sit in the Commons' House of Parliament. He has accepted place, and the Bill of Rights says no placeman shall sit. Now, another question I have got to put to Mr. Stanley. I have told you before that he is for temperate measures: I am for Radical Reform. Now, will Mr. Stanley, on this one point, pledge himself to you that he will vote for cutting up some of those pretty, little, nice, neat rotten-boroughs, and extend the suffrage to other towns? Will he cut up Old Sarum, Gatton, Bletchingly, Newton, and others, and Stockbridge itself? Will he cut up these boroughs and give the franchise to towns where there are a great many inhabitants? Every man in the country has a right to vote, as well as we have. Every man pays taxes. Every man is liable to be called out to fight in case of invasion by the foreign enemy, and why not a right to vote at elections and for candidates too? Why should not Black-

burn, Bolton, Manchester, and other places, have the right to vote as well as Preston? Now, gentlemen, Mr. Stanley will probably answer these questions, and I trust Mr. Stanley will act a consistent part at this election. I am a strict man for morality. I do not want his pocket to suffer, but, if we have fair play, we will run him a good race. I think we shall run him pretty hard. I only oppose him because we differ in opinion. I think he will give me credit for that. I like it, otherwise there would be a deal of monotony. It would not do for all to think alike, because opposition is the life and soul of a community, on peaceable grounds: not fighting about, and on the Sunday too. The peace is in danger when men are out of their senses. Mr. Irwin here again alluded to Mr. Stanley, complained that that right hon. Gentleman voted against the Marquis of Blandford's motion on Reform, and that he was unfavourable to the vote by ballot, and concluded by nominating Mr. Henry Hunt. (Cheers.)

Mr. MITCHELL rose and asked permission to address the mayor with respect to the arrangements.

The MAYOR asked if it was on the subject of the booths.

Mr. MITCHELL.—On the subject of the booths and the expenses by law allowed. On that subject will you allow us to consult with you respecting the erecting of the booths on the most economical plan, and to avoid the shameful frauds which took place in this area at the last election. I am evidence myself of it. The most shameful of all frauds were practised by those who acted on behalf of Mr. Stanley last time. As we are likely to bear a share in the expense, I should like to consult on the subject.

The MAYOR.—I cannot allow anybody to consult with me, because I must be independent of both sides. If the parties themselves wish to agree to any-thing for their mutual benefit, very well, but I cannot take the recommendation of any side without taking that of the other. I know nothing of the last, but I can say that if booths are demanded, we will get them done in the most economical way. I know of no better way than the last.

Mr. MITCHELL disapproved of the plan adopted on the last occasion.

The MAYOR observed, that if the parties could arrange, he would take care that no partiality was shown.

Mr. LAWE.—Mr. Stanley leaves it to the returning officers.

The MAYOR.—Then I think it should be as it was last time.

Mr. MITCHELL then turned to address the electors, and was received with loud acclamations. Gentlemen, the little altercation that has been going on is to this effect: that if Mr. Irwin and I nominate and second Mr. Hunt, we are liable to the payment of the booths—

The MAYOR.—The half.

Mr. MITCHELL.—The half?

The MAYOR.—If they are called for.

Mr. MITCHELL. The half, if on the present occasion a poll is demanded and booths insisted on. I am not myself a lawyer, nor a legislator, like Mr. Stanley, I am not sufficiently a lawyer to say whether it is enacted that you shall be obliged to poll in places like butchers' shops, or that you should poll in wretched holes like horses, in things that may be called stalls in stables. I believe the law does not require that there shall be polling in districts, and I believe that if you are prevented from polling, and you carry the barricades before you, you can legally do it. (Applause.) On this act, gentlemen, I have requested to speak with the Mayor, and he says he will not interfere on either side. That is honourable and correct. He says as honestly and conscientiously, that if the parties interested choose to meet and consult, quite right. Mr. Stanley says he leaves it to the returning officers. I have no objection to that, but I have no prospect of retiring to Ireland with a place of many thousands a-year to enable me to pay my share of the hustings. Mr. Mitchell here digressed to observe that Mr. Stanley belonged to that "contemptible party" who had posted him up in the street as "Mitchell the Spy." He then resumed, and proceeded to inform the electors, that he had asked to have the hustings erected on as economical a plan as possible, and stated the result. It had been said, he continued, that if they came forward on that occasion to vote for Mr. Stanley, on account of his having joined the administration which succeeded the Duke of Wellington's, they would be factious. The fact was, their successors were the Whigs, who were always greater enemies to the liberties of the people than the Tories ever were. ("Right, right" and approbation.) The Whigs! how were they (the people) to be benefitted in the case? Were they to be benefitted by Mr. Stanley taking place and going to Ireland? He asked how the right hon. Gentleman was to serve them by going to Ireland? Had they noticed the proclamation and the other document read by the town-clerk? One stated that Mr. Stanley having taken a place under the government, had rendered himself incapable of holding a seat in the House of Commons, and yet in the face of that act of parliament, he came there to ask them to send him back again. (Applause.) Mr. Stanley's place was in Ireland, and they would be guilty of that sort of blundering for which the Irish were celebrated, if they believed he could serve them (the people of Preston) while he was in Ireland, except by taking from them 5 or 6000*l.* and putting it into his own pocket. In answer to the charge of being factious, he would refer to the sufferings of the country, which he thought would increase more and more till Reform was carried. He would call their attention to the number of fires. The week before last fires were raging in 16 different counties, fires burning up the very stamina, the stacks

of corn from which they got their bread. And what was the first act of the new administration? In a few hours after those gentlemen came into office, they, with Lord Grey at their head, advised the King to issue a proclamation against those who were so suffering. And what had been the result? Had it quelled the disturbances and put out the flames? No. The week before last there was an account of the fires being in sixteen counties, but the last week they heard of their having spread into six and twenty. It was actually alarming. As he had observed, the proclamation was issued to prosecute the persons who were guilty of those things. (A voice in the gallery, "And serve them right.") True; but it was dreadful to hear of those fires raging around them. A rick had been burnt at Carlisle, and how did they know that those fires might not spread? How did they know that they might not come nearer home, and particularly as he had heard that a great many factories—six and twenty he had heard—were about to be stopped for the purpose of destroying the Trades' Unions? How did they know that those fires might not come nearer home, and that some of themselves might be sacrificed to them? It was on that account he seconded the nomination of Mr. Hunt, considering him a more fitting person than Mr. Stanley to apply the remedy, and as proof of what he asserted, he reminded the electors of the circumstances attending Mr. Hunt's recent visit to Andover, and of the influence he had exercised on that occasion. That was the difference between Mr. Hunt and Mr. Stanley, when the former was quelling disturbances in Hampshire, the latter was taking office to go to Ireland; and he must say, that unless they one and all stuck to themselves, took the case into their own hands, and elected a man more fitting than Mr. Stanley, they might yet have to fear those dire results, which he, for one, could not look to without considerable alarm. And what had Mr. Stanley done since the last election? He had watched his conduct, and he found he had done no one act calculated to benefit the country. He (Mr. Stanley) said they would do nothing but by temperate means; but he contended that when relief was wanted, it was no good to stand temporising. They must send a man to parliament who would pledge himself immediately to bring forward measures, and those measures of reform which the people had a right to expect. It was on those accounts that he urged upon them to return Mr. Hunt in preference to Mr. Stanley. He knew Mr. Hunt would not take office; and that he would serve them independently, honestly, and with courage. He (Mr. Mitchell) happened to be one of those who were not absent the day before when Mr. Stanley made his speech; and he knew that the right hon. Gentleman did speak of the contemptible individuals who had signed that paper. God knew, he (Mr. Mitchell) was contemptible enough. (Loud



laughter.) He could not boast of a long line of ancestry, nor was he one of those who held great property and had a great stake in the country: he had no property but what proceeded from the labour of his own hands, but he was descended from honest people who, for the mother, the grandmother, and even the great grandmother (laughter) were as honourable as Mr. Stanley. With respect to the paper, the right hon. Gentleman complained that he had been accused of selling the electors. He said a great deal about selling, but not a word about *buying* the electors with drink. No, he was not so honest as the member of Parliament returned for one of the rotten boroughs, who, when applied to by his constituents, replied "I have bought you, and now I will sell you again as you deserve to be sold, and you may go to the devil together." (Laughter.) But Mr. Stanley had another charge against them: they used words which they repeated like a parrot: that they could write words but attach no ideas to them. If they had no ideas attached to them, he supposed then it was by accident that those words had the truth attached to them. It was no doubt by accident that it was true that he bought the electors with drink and spent 7 or 8000*l.* at the last election? He did not answer that. But they used words and had no ideas; and how happened it they had no ideas? He would tell them. It was because there was not one amongst them who had had a shilling expended for his education at any public seminary, and that would have been the case if Mr. Stanley's father and grandfather had not. (Here the speaker made some allusion to "the butchers of Manchester," the precise meaning of which we could not catch.) His father was foreman of the grand jury which approved the measures taken at Manchester, and his grandfather thanked the magistrates for their conduct on that occasion. Mr. Mitchell then observed that if Mr. Stanley could attach ideas to his words better than they, it was on account of his education only, and he afterwards proceeded to say that he opposed the present administration because he had always found the party of which it was formed arrayed against the liberties of the country. Lord Grey had declared that he would not meddle with the existing institutions, and that meant he would not meddle with the rotten boroughs. That was his meaning. And with respect to the debt he would have, and that was what he proposed when Baines chose to accuse him of recommending the seizure of Lord Fitzwilliam's property, an equitable adjustment. His first measure, on entering the House, would be to settle the debt, and then have the pension-list put away, and provide that no placeman should be paid more than his services demanded. If Mr. Stanley had done that, he would have been the first to vote for him. Mr. Mitchell continued, at some length, to complain that Mr. Stanley had not performed his duty in Par-

liament, and then went on to speak of the new administration. For his part, he would rather have the Duke of Wellington at the head of affairs pointing the sword at him, than have a Whig administration, who, with an oily tongue concealed the dagger under the coat. He said, give him the sword, that he may see his end, in place of having to languish along in pain and with struggles. (Applause.) On the subject of Mr. Hunt being present, he would candidly tell them that he most honestly believed Mr. Hunt would be there the next day. That was his opinion. But whether he would be present or not, they had the power to elect him. In Preston they had the power, and he hoped they would exercise it. He knew that if the electors did but come forward, they would have a race for it. He would take care there should be no man-traps; and there should be a race. Although they had not Mr. Stanley's money to oil the wheels, they would tease him before Saturday night. But he could also communicate to them that he had that morning received intelligence that the greatest efforts were making to provide the means for oiling the wheels. Their poor brethren were every where collecting their penny subscriptions, and they were determined that the electors should exercise their rights. And further, if any man was afraid to vote, he could take upon himself to tell them that, in the event of any man losing his work, the reformers and Trade's Union were pledged, they were one and all pledged, that not one man should suffer in consequence of his vote on that occasion. (Vehement cheering.) It was not worth while going into the details of Mr. Stanley's life, short as it was, but there was one fact he could not overlook, and they should consider it properly. His grandfather, the Earl of Derby, bore a most excellent character in this town as a landlord. He did not know of one who bore a better; but he observed that that character was the reason of getting votes for his son and grandson, by which they were sent to Parliament to vote money into their own pockets. So that frauds were practised because the Earl was a good landlord. He would have them beware how they gave credit to any thing promised by a placeman, and especially by a Whig. When such came, and smiled upon them, let them put their hands on their pockets. The moment he smiled, that moment they were in danger. It was Mr. Stanley who had to do with the act of parliament which put the friends of Mr. Hunt, at the last election, to 57*l.* expense for the erection of booths. Now, in place of Mr. Stanley being the means of passing such an act, why did he not say the whole expenses of the election should be paid by the candidate who had the show of hands against him? Why did he not say the man who demanded the poll should have all to pay? If he had so worded that act as to make it binding on those who demanded the poll, he would have given him credit, but the act amounted to this: that if

Mr. Irvin and himself had not come forward, for there was not one shopkeeper ready to come forward besides, not one of the tradesmen on this side, nor of the wine-merchants on that, there was not one to come forward to advocate the cause and make himself liable. Mr. Mitchell then proceeded to complain of the cost of the last election, and after observing that from estimates he had received the work might be done for 20% or 30% (instead of 189%), he remarked that the act, by the provision adverted to, went to deprive the electors of their rights. Because Mr. Irvin and himself nominated and seconded Mr. Hunt they were to be liable to expense, and in his opinion if it was for having a hand in that act only, that was enough to disqualify Mr. Stanley from ever sitting in that House again. It was a fell attack upon the constitution. There was another matter. They knew that several things were taxed, and amongst others no shopkeeper could keep a man in his shop without paying a guinea a year. Then there was the rosy-faced tax gatherer, who was at one time a real radical, a down with church and King radical, he got into a snug office and was enabled to go about and tax people. He was a thorough radical before he got into office (laughter), and what did they think he was doing? He (Mr. Mitchell) had two boys and a man in his shop, and the radical tax-gatherer had called upon him to tell him, that he must pay a guinea a year for the boys as well as the man. Mr. Stanley knew that the shopkeepers were so oppressed, and shopmen often, by the same means, kept out of situations, but he never once rose to lift his voice against such things. And yet if Mr. Stanley were to send his lowest menial to any of those tradesmen for a yard of tape or a pair of stockings, they would agree to be his humble servant for life. He was charged with speaking against time on the last occasion. How did they know he was not speaking against time then? But he had little more to say. He wished Mr. Hunt to come when Mr. Stanley was about half through his speech. The constitution said he ought not to be in the House: let it be their act to disfranchise them, but never let it disgrace the working community. How could a placeman have the impudence to come before them to break the law! He was incompetent also, because he was against universal suffrage, and because of his acts in the House. The Earl sat in the upper House, and the son and grandson in the lower. They had no right to meddle with the Commons; and the act required that they should return a burgess and not a placeman, one from amongst the people and who had a fellow-feeling with them. Mr. Mitchell again called upon the electors to reject Mr. Stanley and elect Mr. Hunt, informed them that the right hon. Gentleman stood there to answer questions, and that any of them had a right to put any that he pleased; and concluded an address of very great length by seconding the nomination of Mr. Hunt. (Loud and continued cheering.)

The MAYOR.—Is there any other candidate to be proposed?

Mr. JOHNSTON here stepped forward to say that he had two questions to put to Mr. Stanley, the answers to which would probably cause all opposition to cease.

Mr. Stanley drew near.

Mr. JOHNSTON then proceeded to observe that he had two questions to put, and that if the answers were given affirmatively, he, in the name of all the radicals of Preston, would undertake that all further opposition should cease. In the first place, would the right hon. Gentleman vote for the immediate abolition of the corn bill? Secondly, would he support that measure of reform which would include the vote by ballot? Mr. Johnston then addressed himself to the electors very shortly, and in the course of the few observations he made insisted that without the vote by ballot universal suffrage was to Preston a curse instead of a blessing.

Mr. STANLEY.—Gentlemen, I find that since the last election Mr. Mitchell has not lost his talent for making long speeches with exceedingly little in them. (Great clamour and interruption.)

The MAYOR.—My lads, let me say a word. You have heard with great patience Mr. Mitchell, and now it would ill become you not to hear Mr. Stanley on the other side.

Mr. STANLEY was about to resume, but the clamour was renewed, and in the midst the right hon. Gentleman observed, If I am not to be heard, it will be equally agreeable to go on with the election. If you desire to hear what I have to say, I am ready to do, but if not, I am equally ready to go on with the election. The interruption shortly after subsided; and the right hon. Gentleman continued.—Gentlemen, in what I have to say I must now declare that I shall confine myself to answer those questions which have been touched upon by the three persons who have addressed you, with reference to my political conduct. I will not go further, first because I had an opportunity yesterday of alluding to my general principles, and, secondly, because I shall not condescend to bandy revilings and personal abuse with any man living. (Applause.) Gentlemen, for those reasons I shall not make any apology to Mr. Mitchell, because I happen to belong—(renewed interruption) because I happen to belong to a family of considerable property, and which has long been settled in this county. I claim no merit on that account, but I shall not apologise to Mr. Mitchell or any man for belonging to a family of, I hope, untarnished reputation and of high character in this county. (Loud applause from the galleries, mixed with clamour from below.) Lord Derby has been nearly fifty years the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and Lord Stanley has been your representative, and that of the county, and they can stand in no need of my advocacy against the attacks and abuse, and what is, if possible, more degrading still, the eulogiums of Mr.

*Mitchell.* (Applause from the right hon. Gentleman's friends, and loud disapprobation from the area.) It has pleased Mr. Mitchell to allude to a paper—(renewed clamour)—It has pleased Mr. Mitchell to speak of the paper in his hand, and cast some abusive imputations with reference to what I said last evening upon it. *To his praise and his censure I am equally indifferent*, but I did not make use of the terms he has alleged to have been spoken by me. I said Mr. Hunt was supported by a party who have no claim to your attention or respect, and I said the allegations in that paper was utterly contemptible. (The interruption from below was here recommenced with very great violence, and the two or three concluding words of the right hon. gentleman's sentence did not reach us.)

The MAYOR.—For shame: you disgrace yourselves every moment.

MR. STANLEY.—Mr. Mitchell has told you, and has quoted the words of the act and proclamation in order to prove to you, that I have not the right of sitting in the House of Commons. (Clamour.) He has, with his usual correctness, totally misrepresented the meaning of the words of the act and the proclamation. According to law and the proclamation, I, upon accepting office, resigned my seat, and now come here to ask you for a renewal of your support. Mr. Mitchell knows,—and if he does not he knows he can appeal against the return after it is made,—that I have as much right to my seat as another man. (Renewed clamour.) But more of *this man's* candour or his *ignorance*: he has told you that by having accepted an office in Ireland I cannot give attention to your interests in parliament. If he had known any thing of what he was talking about he must have known that the situation is one which entails on me the obligation of attending in my place in parliament all through the session, and that I go to the performance of my duties in Ireland when parliament is not sitting. (More clamour.) I could pass over all the rest of Mr. Mitchell's very long speech, without any observation whatever, but he has made some allusions respecting the first act of the new administration. I am proud to say that the first act of the new administration was to advise his Majesty to issue his proclamation to disabuse the minds of those individuals who had been deluded by *designing characters* (marked applause from the galleries, and most violent expressions of disapprobation from below)—to express the firm determination of the government to put down by the strong hand of the law those outrages so destructive to property, and so ruinous to individuals; and moreover, if they had not taken those steps they would not have been worthy of the confidence which their king and their country repose in them. (Applause and clamour.) I tell Mr. Mitchell that this is not a government who will encourage or support *men guilty of deluding the people into acts of violence*. It is their determination, actuated by the most humane motives, to extend every leniency to the deluded, but

at the same time to punish with the utmost severity *the deluders*. (With a significant look at Mr. Mitchell.) (Applause and clamour.) There have been put to me two questions, and, if my answers are in the affirmative, I am assured that all opposition will cease from those persons who assume the power of leading the whole body of radical reformers in this town. (Laughter and interruption.) My opinions on radical reform are well known. It is known also that the government intend to carry into effect as large a measure of reform as it is possible to carry with due regard to the existing institutions of the country, and consistently with the due balance of King, Lords and Commons. I have never been of opinion, nor am I now of opinion, that the vote by ballot will afford any additional security to the exercise of the elective franchise. (Great interruption.) I have no reason to believe that it forms any part of the plan of reform under consideration. (Clamour.) I have hitherto voted against the vote by ballot, and, in defiance of the threat that the reformers will oppose me, I shall think I am doing my duty if I still continue to oppose the vote by ballot. (Applause and clamour, mingled as before.) You have been told by the gentlemen who proposed Mr. Hunt,—whose speech, by the way, is much easier to answer than his *grammar to be understood*, that gentleman has talked about an *annumalee*, a word that I do not understand, nor do you, and yet that is what he calls plain English. He has told you what moderate reform means, and has asked you, if you have a wife who needs mending, whether you would not rather have her really or temperately reformed. You told him really; and now I have another question to ask you on that subject. If you have a wife would you rather that she should be temperate or intemperate? (Laughter.) It is my firm belief that by temper and temperate measures alone the great object is to be carried, and I warn the reformers to beware of those who would advise them to intemperate measures now that the government is disposed to carry into effect reform. (Mr. Stanley here said something, the precise meaning of which we did not catch, in reprobation of violent measures, and in reference to what Mr. Mitchell had said in the way of anticipation with respect to what he considered the alarming state of the country; there were some cries of "false," and Mr. Mitchell said, "We do view it with alarm;" but the clamour and confusion were so great that we could not hear either one or the other of the two sentences that were uttered on the instant.)

MR. STANLEY resumed.—It is impossible to go into the details, but this I may say, that I shall be greatly disappointed if the plan under consideration does not include the *disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs and the transfer of the privilege to some of the great towns*. In favour of that proposition I always voted, and I have told you my opinions upon the subject, which are the same I have held as well in as out of office. The second question



is whether I will vote for the abolition of the corn laws. That question can be put to me only that I may declare, as I do now declare, my conviction that it is impossible, with due regard to the interests of all classes, that *those laws can be utterly abolished*. (Loud and continued disapprobation.) I feel that the existing corn laws give a greater degree of protection to the agricultural interest than to any other, but still it is impossible that the law can be abolished. I know the declaration is an unpopular one, but it is one that I feel I can conscientiously and consistently make. I have only to entreat that you will pause before you give ear to insults and imputations on the existing government. It is a government that relies for support on public opinion, and I entreat you to pause before you decide that I am not worthy of your confidence because I form a part of it, and by that means throw slurs upon the government which the great towns have not thrown. It has been the opinion of the reformers of Norwich, of Dover, of Coventry, and other places, that the fact of their members belonging to the administration did not make it necessary for them to withdraw their confidence, and they returned them again in every instance; and well may the reformers of Preston pause before they set up their judgment against that expressed by all other reformers wherever they have been appealed to on this occasion. Gentlemen, one word and I have done. You have been told to expect Mr. Hunt immediately. Now those gentlemen know that there is not the remotest chance that he will appear amongst you. (From the crowd—"There was not last time.") His parting words at the last election were that the time was not come when he was to be returned member for this town. Depend upon it, you will not see him here. (Mr. Mitchell—"But the time may be come.") Those persons who have put him in nomination have taken the responsibility upon their own hands, without either his knowledge or consent. (Some tokens of dissent were here manifested by the Huntites—the previous calm was again disturbed, and, in the midst of renewed and general clamour, Mr. Stanley concluded by calling upon the intelligent classes of the town to scout an opposition raised merely for the purpose of creating expense, and upon the electors, generally, to replace in him that confidence which, by more than 3000 votes, they bestowed at the last election.)

#### MINISTERIAL PROJECTS.

WHEN I wrote the last Register, which was on this day week, I had some little hope (it was not great), that the New Ministry would pursue a *new course*. I am sorry to see, already that I deceived myself. The avowed intention of *adding to the standing army in time of peace*, and while they profess

*their intention not to go to war*; this measure, now openly avowed, and the intention avowed of *not lessening the amount of the taxes*; these two things convince me, as they must convince every man of any sense, that *no real change is intended*; and that there is to be a mere change of *persons*, as at *Paris*. Nay, if one look well into the matter, the Duke's has been a sort of *friendly abdication*; we have been quietly *handed over* to his successor; the Duke's declaration against reform, like Charles's Ordinance, excited the rage of the people, and then the Duke *abdicated*, and let in Lord Grey; and it is curious, that, in both cases, the first thing that the new Chambers did was to declare in favour of "*national faith*;" both say, that no taxes can be taken off; both keep and propose to keep, all the laws of *their predecessors in full force*; and to make no change whatever, except in the *mere names* of the principal men in power. And there is, still, HORACE TWISS, by JASUS! There he is, *in place* under the new set as well as under the old set; still *taking our money*, and, like Fox, aforetime, calling pensions *vested interests*! These things should be *remembered*. We are apt to forget; and this is a great fault.

I was willing to *wait*, and give these ministers time; but the *augmentation of the standing army*, under the present circumstances, is *quite enough for any man*. This shows their *intentions*; this shows how *they mean* to act. It is a sure, a certain standard whereby to judge of their designs. But, the *whole of their intentions*, as to the most weighty matters, are developed in the speeches made by Lord ALTHORP on the 13th instant. On the subject of the *army* the report (in the *Bloody Old Times*) makes him say: "that he thought it by no means so desirable to vote the estimates for so long a period as the hon. member for Cricklade had mentioned. *He and his friends* certainly felt it their duty to increase the army, and they had done this in the cheapest way possible. When it was considered what the state of the country really was, no person could be surprised

“at an increase of the military force. He would not wish to govern the country by any military power, but when riots and disorders existed, such as had recently been witnessed, it was necessary to suppress them at once, and by the most effectual means. The hon. Gentleman had averted to the subject of the Duchy of Lancaster, and to the opinion expressed by the present Lord Chancellor upon that subject. Now the argument of the Lord Chancellor, when in that house, was this—that His Majesty’s speech had raised expectations in the country that the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster were among those to be given up, and he disapproved of expectations being raised which it was not intended to fulfil. He (*the Chancellor of the Exchequer*) confessed that he had taken the same view of the subject as his noble and learned friend. But it would be most unfair, if by the wording of the King’s speech, which was the speech of the late ministers, expectation had been raised which it was never intended to fulfil, for the House to require that those expectations, so falsely raised, should be realized. (Hear.) The Duchy of Lancaster had always been considered as a distinct property of the King, as Duke of Lancaster; it constituted one of the few rights which belonged to the King, and had never hitherto been interfered with by Parliament. Would it then be a gracious return to His Majesty, when surrendering other interests, certainly of less importance, for him to be called upon—the first king that ever was—to make such a sacrifice? (Hear.)”

This is what we have been hearing for the last forty years. It does not seem to enter into the minds of these men, that there is any other means of ruling people than those of force! All the world know, that the riots and fires too have been occasioned by the starving state of the labouring people; and yet the cure is, an augmentation of the army! “More soldiers,” as the old hack, Burke, said, when he was abusing the National Assembly of France. “More

soldiers.” The people are resolved not to live any longer on potatoes and salt. “More soldiers.” They will not do it, however; they will have some meat and some bread; and, in the end, they will have both, and in plenty too. It is the push at the parsons that frightens the aristocracy; and a desperate dig it is into the bowels of the system; it reaches its very vitals; and has stung the haughty crew to madness. I beg the reader to look (under my *Domestic* head) at the petition of the farmers of Stoke Holy Cross, in Norfolk. Look at that Holy Alliance, and if you have one grain of sense left, beat a retreat with all imaginable despatch.

LORD ALTHORP’S two speeches (same day) in answer to questions by Mr. ATTWOOD, are of vast importance. They relate to the CURRENCY and the TAXES. Let me put their words down here; for they are of vast importance. With regard to the Currency,

“Mr. ATTWOOD wished to know from the noble Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it was the intention of Ministers, in their inquiry into the causes of the distress under which the country was now unhappily suffering, to propose any specific motion of inquiry into the chief of those causes—the mischievous tamperings with the Currency, which Ministers and Parliament had been introducing and sanctioning since 1819?—THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.—In answer to the hon. Member’s question I have to state, that it is not the intention of Ministers to propose any inquiry with a view to altering the standard of our circulating medium. (Hear, hear.) If the hon. Gentleman be of opinion that such an inquiry is necessary, let him bring forward a motion to that effect before the House, so as to enable us to pronounce a decisive opinion on its merits. (Hear.) If the hon. Member do so, let me express a hope that he will favour the House with instead of the vague, and general, and untangible allegations of those who usually advocate the expediency of a small note currency—a statement of the grounds of

“ his complaint against the present system, of the change he would propose in it, and of his views as to the effects of his change. (Hear, hear.) “ I should like to know *what alteration the hon. Member would propose to us to make in our monetary system*, and “ how he would apply himself to effect “ it? Whether, for example, he would “ *issue a small note currency*, or propose “ *another Bank restriction*, or whether “ he would *alter the value, the standard value*, of the currency? (Hear.) After “ the best attention I could bestow on “ the subject, and I assure the hon. “ Member I have long and maturely “ considered it, I have arrived at the “ conclusion, that it would be impossible for us to alter the present value “ of the currency, so important and “ necessary is it to the interests of commerce that the standard of our Currency should be fixed and permanent, “ *without entailing serious mischief on the country*. (Hear, hear.) For this “ reason, I for one will not consent to “ any alteration in our monetary system “ *like to that which the hon. Member evidently has in view*.” (Cheers.)

Well, then, that is settled, one would think. But the words respecting the Taxes are of still *more importance*. Pray observe them, reader; and pray do bear them in recollection. There never was delusion, infatuation, equal to that under which this Ministry is about to blunder along. Experience seems to have no weight with them, and not the smallest effect upon them. They go on just in the old way, though they have the fall of the Duke just under their noses; and though, if not afflicted with total blindness, they must see that he fell in an attempt to uphold that *system of taxation* which they now express their determination to uphold. But let us hear them:—

“ Mr. ATTWOOD said it was a *gross delusion for the Government to talk about economy and retrenchment*, if “ they intended to *add to the military force* for the purpose of putting an “ end to the disturbances, *into the cause of which they refused to inquire*. He “ believed that it could be shown to

“ demonstration, the cause of the present distress, and of the disturbances arising therefrom, to be that unfortunate measure by which an alteration was effected in the Currency. “ He was convinced that the distresses of the country *could not be relieved by retrenchment*.

“ The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that it was not by *retrenchment alone* that the Government intended to relieve the country, but also by “ looking at the financial state of the country, and the manner in which “ *taxes pressed on the industry of the people*, and by reducing those taxes “ which, by their excessive amount, reduced themselves. *He believed that the revenue would be increased, and relief afforded to the people, not by laying on new taxes, but by altering those which pressed heavily on industry*; (hear, hear;) *for when he compared the amount of taxation and the amount of capital and wealth at present existing, with the amount of taxation and capital existing at any former period, he felt confident that the amount of taxes was not so great that, if properly imposed, it could not be borne by the people*. The hon. Gentleman had said, that the evils of the country were owing, in some degree, to the alteration of the standard of value. “ That alteration had been *unintentionally* effected, but the hon. Gentleman proposed to the House deliberately to reduce the standard of value. Such a proposition as that could “ never be adopted in any commercial country without destruction. It “ was of the greatest importance to a commercial country to have a fixed “ standard of value. *For these reasons the ministers were determined not to go into that question*. (Hear.) They “ would endeavour to alleviate the distress of the country *in the way they had pointed out*, and if they failed in “ their object, he for one would not “ attempt to make an *intentional* depreciation in the standard of value. “ (Hear.)”

Mr. ATTWOOD was perfectly right; it is a gross delusion to talk of *economy*



and of augmenting the army at the same time. But, good God! only think of the notions of this poor man about *easing* the people *by adding to the revenue!* Really one would think that they were *mad*, if one did not know to the contrary. However, here is the ELEVENTH ministry that I have seen; and I do think that this is the *last* that I shall see under this taxing and standing-army-system. How this poor man has had his head crammed with the stuff about the *capital of the country!* The Scotch feelosofers have got him in their net; and out of it will he come in sorry pickle! Oh! the "alteration in the value of the currency was made *unintentionally*," was it? It was made by the House of which *you were a member*, and you *voted for it*. So that, if it were done unintentionally, you *did what you did not intend to do*; in other words, *you did not know what you were doing*; but *I did*, and I pretty quickly told you so too. Will you listen to me *now*, then? No, that you will not. I told the Duke's fortune, when he took hold of the helm. I have not time and room to tell yours to-day; but, I will tell it *next week*; and, when you have it, you may rely on its being verified. Lord Grey and you have not got your names on the corners of streets and squares, and your pictures on the sign-posts, and, therefore, your fall may not be so very signal; but it will be signal enough, unless you immediately bolt out of the old course, and do the right thing; unless you cause the farmers and other employers to have the means of giving the working people *meat and bread*. One of the Sussex emigrants, writing home (see *Emigrant's Guide*) to his father, says, "Tell THOMAS AVANN to 'come to America; and tell him to 'leave his STRAP (what he wears 'when he has *nothing to eat*) in England, for some other *half-starved slave*." "Tell Miriam that there is no sending 'children to bed without supper, or 'husbands to work without dinners in 'their bags. Come away from that 'land of tithes and taxes." This was a *Sussex pauper!* Only think of the STRAP! Oh! are there, even in the

infernal regions, monsters equal to those who can wish to keep the working people of England in this state! And they are as well off *as they ever were*, are they, Baring? And it is the French revolution that has stirred them up, is it, Wellington? But the STRAP, then: think of the Strap! Ah! but the *sublime lords* have not read EMIGRANT'S GUIDE! Not they, indeed: if they had, they would not have been surprised at what has taken place, and is yet to take place. Not they, indeed: they have no time to throw away upon EMIGRANTS' GUIDES: they have quite enough to do to read Ricardo, Parnell, Peter M'Culloch, Paul Senior of Oxford, Tooke, and other such profound economists. Quite enough to do to read these.

But *why*, now, Lord Althorp, was it that THOMAS AVANN was told not to carry his STRAP to America? And *why* do the children there not *go to bed without supper*, and the men to work without dinners in their bags? Why is this! Because the Government there is *cheap*; because it *discharged the army as soon as the war was over*; because the whole of the civil government does not cost more than a *couple of families of our aristocracy*; because, in short, the *people choose those who lay on the taxes*, and because there are no *tithes* and no law-established clergy. That's it, Lord Althorp; and if you do not wilfully shut your eyes; if you be not resolved to be blind, you *must* see that we must, *by some means or other*, get A CHEAP GOVERNMENT, as our forefathers had. You say, "If we fail!" Pray believe that there is no *if* in the case: you are *sure* to fail; and therefore, look out in time *for what is to follow*. Go you on paying the interest of the Debt, in *full tale*, and in gold of *full weight and fineness*; do these things for a little while longer and we shall have a cheap government, and THOMAS AVANN may lay aside his STRAP. Is *Burke's pension still to be paid?* If it be, that's enough to convince any man that under this Ministry there will be no change for the better.

WM. COBBETT.

## COBBETT'S FARMING.

**FIRST OF THE CORN.**—The last spring and summer were the worst of the three worst that England has known for many years. Yet this corn has succeeded very well all along the coast of Sussex. Mr. PLUMLEY of PEVENSEY, gave me some very fine corn, when I was at that place; it was of this year's growth. I had some very fine given me at Lewes, and have excellent specimens sent me from other parts of England. I had to quit my farm at Michaelmas, and, therefore, could not have any corn there; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop that ever grew, I believe, in the world. It was *harvested about three weeks ago*; and, though, from my other occupations, and from the piece-meal manner in which the work was done, and from giving the small and soft ears to hogs as we proceeded, I cannot tell the exact quantity, I am sure there were at the rate of 120 or 130 bushels of shelled corn to the acre. Any gentleman who has the curiosity to see this crop, may now see a part of it at Bolt-Court, where it is, in part, tied up in bunches of *six ears in a bunch*, and for sale at *a shilling a bunch*. I never saw so fine a crop as this in my life. There was enough grew, on *ten rod* of ground, to fat a hog of *ten score*. The greater part of labourers have each ten rod of garden ground for this purpose; and these might produce twenty bushels of base potatoes instead of 200 pounds of bacon! The crop needs *no barn*; it is all the work of women and children. If we have *a real reform in the House of Commons*, my design is to go myself, and *see corn planted* in 50 labourers' gardens in each of the counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants and Wilts. All my endeavours to better the lot of the labourers have been on the presumption that this reform is to take place; for, without that and its consequent reduction of taxation and abolition of tithes, nothing can better the lot of the labourer. If you give him this crop, as things now are, you only induce the *hired overseer* to give him less than he gives him now, while you

enable the *parson* to take another bite out of his bones. Suppose a hundred gardens in a parish, each with its ten bushels of corn; the parson gets a hundred bushels; and this takes ten fat hogs from the labouring men. However, this *must cease*; it will cease; and when it does, this corn will be grown all over the kingdom. I am sure of this; and I hope that I shall live to see fat hogs from it in thousands of styes of labouring men. Apropos of fat hogs! I wonder whether the LORD CHANCELLOR NOW thinks that I was right, when I told him that he ought to be endeavouring to fill the *bellies* of the working people, before he troubled himself about the stuffing of their *heads*! BURDETT (always for *talk* and *no do*) used to say, that he did not like the *belly-patriots*. No, to be sure not! He did not like any-thing that tended to *produce* the thing he was *pretending to want* to have done. Burdett liked the *patriots* that would *bawl*, and *bawl for him* too, and for nobody else, and who were content to live upon "*taties*." I always hated the sight of the debasing "*taties*." It is now just 14 years since I put forth my general and elaborate protest against this soul-degrading root, which I did under the title of "*SHAKESPEARE, MILTON and POTATOES*," in which article I expressed my hope that the *people of England* would *never be reduced to such fare*. They were, however, reduced to it at last; but, thank God and the native spirit that he has given them, they will endure the infernal "*taties*" no longer.

**SECOND, OF OTHER CROPS.**—The public knows what the BLOODY OLD TIMES and the "*Bull-frog's Blunderer*," commonly called the FARMER'S JOURNAL, have put forth about my farm; they have, and particularly a malignant and stupid wretch under the signature of T., said that my land was all a *bed of weeds*, that my *swedish turnips* (that were on the land last fall) were small and like so many plants of grass, so thick on the ground; that I had no straw on the premises; and that *every-thing had the hue of misery itself*. This is a species of calumny that even this infamous press

never resorted to in the case of *any other man*. As to the base people who conduct these newspapers, though they deserve to be knocked on the head and left on the highways or on commons for the carrion-crows to eat, they are not worthy of my vengeance: it is their infamous *setters-on* and *backers-on* that call for my vengeance; and on these I inflict it whenever I can, and rejoice when I see it *inflicted by others*. The Bloody Old Times attacks me on behalf of the loan-mongers and stock-jobbers and Jews, and the Bull-frog's Blunderer attacks me on behalf of the bullet-headed, monopolising, greedy, grinding, cruel Bull-frog farmers and their equally cruel landlords and parsons. Therefore, *on these* my vengeance is due, and on them I inflict it when I can, and I always rejoice when it is inflicted on them by others. It is not the *stick*, but the *hand that wields* it, that the sensible dog always bites. To put on record a clear proof of the malignity of these base people, the best way will be to give an *account of my crops at the end of my lease*. If I were to say any-thing about the *state of the land*, there might be room for difference of opinion; but the *amount of the crop*, and that amount to be verified by reference to a third party, can leave no doubt. The following, then, is the statement, in answer to the bloody tool of the Jews and the base tool of the *Bull-frogs*, the whole of whom I challenge to equal the crops of this calumniated farm:—

The meadows were grazed during the year.

The arable land consisted of

Wheat—5 acres, rather short measure.

Barley—18 acres.

Potatoes 6, which Mrs. Cobbett (I being away) was persuaded, by some of our gardening neighbours, to believe a source of immense wealth. However, as she was *farmer*, she had a right to do what she pleased with the land.

Swedish Turnip seed . . . 13

Swedish Turnips . . . . . 6

White Turnips . . . . . 4

Mangel Wurzel . . . . . 8

And this was the *whole of the arable land*. The produce was as follows:—

Wheat 25 quarters, besides a sack to an acre, which all the care in the world could not prevent the *birds* from eating.

Swedish Turnip seed, 320 bushels.

Barley 108 quarters.

Only a part has been thrashed out yet. The wheat has been sold for 78s. a quarter, the barley (wet a little part of it) for 38s. what has been sold. The potatoes were sold for 12*l*. an acre, being compelled to get them off the land by Michaelmas-day. I estimate the barley, it not being all thrashed yet; but, I am sure that I am under the mark. The wheat was the handsomest piece of wheat I ever saw in my whole life. It was what we call, in Hampshire, "*the old-fashioned white-straw*": it has white straw, white ear, and *brown* small grain. It is the very sort of wheat that is grown in Virginia, and that makes the finest flour. A neighbour, who sold me the seed, got it from Wiltshire. Every body said that they never saw such a piece of wheat. The eight acres of barley that grew in the same field, Sir Thomas Beavor saw in full ear, and said it was *the finest piece of barley he had ever seen in his life*, though all his life, observe, he has been in Norfolk. The other ten acres of barley grew where there had been *two crops of Cobbett's Corn succeeding each other*. The Swedish Turnip seed had succeeded as fine a crop of mangel wurzel as ever was seen. The potatoes had succeeded a crop of cabbages much finer than I ever saw before. The potatoes had 12 loads of manure to the acre; but all the other crops not only had no manure *for them*, but *the land never had any while it was in my possession*. The manure I found on the farm was not sufficient for an acre of land, and I left, in the yard, enough for the 13 acres where the turnip seed had stood, and that land I left ploughed and harrowed and ready for wheat. The turnips and mangel wurzel left for winter consumption on the land, had been put on manure to the amount of 12 loads to the acre. So that there were 24 (with the potatoes—



ground) well manured, and manure for 13 acres more; and never was farm left in such beautiful condition. But the crops speak for the farm. The scoundrel T., one of whose paragraphs my foolish landlord had the emptiness to send to me, said that my Swedish turnips were *thick on ground*! The base, broken-down sponger, whom I know very well, and whose name I keep out of print for the sake of those who have the misfortune to be related to him, saw those turnips on ridges *six feet apart*, two rows on a ridge a *foot apart*, and the plants a foot apart in the row; and this is what the stupid and malignant villain called *thick upon the ground*! This piece of seed was the finest, I believe, that ever was seen. The land, between the plants, was *ploughed in the winter*; then twice *in the spring*. The seed-stalks were *six feet high*; the flower of the Swedish Turnip is a very beautiful pale yellow; and the piece being so large, it attracted all eyes that came near the spot: people used to stand in groups on the Thames-bank and look at it. But, did ever any farmer before grow 320 bushels of Swedish turnip seed on 13 acres of land, in one piece? I never heard of such a thing; and the finest of seed too; and the land a fallow at the same time. The *wide distances* let in the air and sun; and the inter-tillage *fed the plants* so as to *fill the top-pods of the branches*. A fact worth the attention of farmers is, that the seed from which these plants came was at least *seven years old*! It was a bag of seed given to me, in 1822, by Mr. PEPPERCORN, who then rented a farm of the WHITBREDS, in *Bedfordshire*. He gave it me as being *extraordinarily fine*. I had tried it in my garden, and found it to be so; but never had an opportunity of raising a lot of seed from it before. There was but *one single false plant* in the whole piece, and that I had pulled up before the bloom appeared. The seed is the finest sample that I ever saw. I shall, by-and-by, offer this seed for sale, in any quantities, great or small; and also *mangel wurzel seed*, grown by me, the autumn before, from plants of the *deep red* sort,

carefully selected for the purpose.— Besides the seeds, I have some *locust seed*; and these are all the seeds I have, or shall have, for sale. Of APPLE and PEAR trees, and some others, I have a good parcel; but it is too troublesome to be selling these in the winter; I shall, therefore, not attempt it till towards March.

I make no apology for this article. It contains useful information. In the first place, it is useful to show up the baseness of the tools of the people's worst enemies; and, in the next place, here is information that may be useful to many persons who cultivate the land, and particularly to such as raise seeds in great quantities. It is, too, of the greatest importance, that it be known that COBBETT'S CORN will succeed in *any summer* in England. I have the crop to show to any one that may choose to see it; and this is the best of answers to all gainsayers.

#### MIDDLESEX MEETING.

I HAVE no time to comment on this very important Meeting; but cannot delay to thank Mr. WAKLEY for his amendment of the resolutions.

#### PARLIAMENT.

Thursday, 9th December, 1830.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

STATE OF THE NATION.—Lord Wyndford moved, “that a Committee should be appointed instantly to inquire into the causes of the present distressed state of the country, and, as far as might be, into the nature of the remedy to be adopted.” He introduced this motion by a long speech, which, for confusion and contradiction, is without a parallel in speech-making. Judge-like, he summed up the case of the country, taking all the nonsense that has ever been uttered as to the causes of distress, as if it were evidence given from the witness-box; of course, he failed in reconciling any one piece of nonsense to any other, and he also, of course, failed in making out any

thing from the whole. He imputed the recent burnings and breakings to *excessive distress*, to *foreigners* (that is, he called the means made use of by the labourers an *exotic*, which is, a thing *foreign*), and to *designing and vicious instigators*. He quoted the words of Peel, Huskisson, and the Duke of Wellington, spoken last year, that there was no want of money (or *capital*, as money is so ludicrously called), but that the money is in "an *unhealthy state*!" (You must read their stuff, reader, if you won't believe that I give their words.) That it is shut up in boxes instead of being going about the country transacting affairs; that it is in too few hands. Now, this notion has more truth in it than any other that they have blundered upon; but what has caused this state of things? How comes all the money of the country in the hands of those who do none of the work of the country? How comes it that those who pour out their sweat in the fields starve, while those who slumber, or who wake only to revel, live in luxury? How comes this state of things? My readers don't want to be told. This learned Lord was for machinery and against machinery, his mind seems to have been pretty nearly equally divided in this particular; he thought taxation certainly did operate to cause distress too; for Mr. P. H. had declared that the Excise alone took away two-fifths of the poor man's wages; but he was for giving relief no further than was consistent with *faith to the public creditor*. He asserted that those who pressed heaviest on the poor, were "the inferior tradesmen and shopkeepers, who took more from the pocket of the poor man than the landlord or the taxes." Good God, what a notion!

What does this man think the shopkeeper can get out of the potatoes and salt that the poor creatures are now reduced to? It is gone beyond that. What did the shopkeeper get out of the poor creatures who died with nothing but sour sorrel in their bellies? What did the shopkeeper get out of this, Best? But this report is the

grossest mass of absurdity that I ever read. The difficulty is to point out the most absurd of its absurdities. Why, ALL is ruin, Best: the shopkeeper is a ruined man, as well as the labourer and the farmer; go ask him. The shopkeeper ought to have gain, and great gain, too; and always does when the thing is in a proper state. The wages of the labourer must *all* go through his hands, to be sure, and it is by squeezing him that the Government first comes at the labourer. In this same speech, Lord Wynford said, that, "in his opinion, protection ought to be equally given to *every species of labour*;" and then he went on to say, that "he would not diminish the *security of the fundholder*—" he would not deny that person's just demands upon the state; but he was persuaded that if things went on as they now did, though the fundholder might now have his dividend, the security of his property would be worth nothing. Labour cannot be protected, rents and tithes received, *and the security of the fundholder protected*: that is what I say.—Lord Stanhope wished the motion to be agreed to. He said that, "as to the pledges that the Ministers had held out respecting economy and retrenchment, he very much feared that this would only excite very delusive hopes in others, and that the noble Earl at the head of the Administration laboured under great delusion himself, if he expected that any sensible relief would be afforded to existing distresses from this source. But the measure of Retrenchment was in itself a correct one. As to the question of the Currency, the Ministers were aware of his opinions, and they ought not to disguise from themselves the situation in which they stood with reference to this question. It could not be denied that they had but two alternatives, both of which were difficult, but from which they could not escape. The one alternative was, by a return to a paper circulation, to raise prices; or, if they rejected that, and persevered in supporting the present currency, then the only other alternative was, to reduce all payments

"to the same scale. If they maintained the metallic currency, they must diminish all payments in the debt, and all the establishments to the scale at which they stood in 1792; and then they must consider the consequences, for the thing could not be done without a convulsion." And I am sure that it cannot be left undone without a convulsion.

The Earl of RADNOR said, that as he had voted for inquiry last Session, and was now about to vote against it, perhaps it might be necessary for him to make a few observations in explanation of a line of proceeding which might, if he did not, wear the appearance of inconsistency. In fact, he always had, upon principle, an aversion to Committees of Inquiry (which, in his opinion, were of late years much too frequent), because he considered that they tended, in many cases, to take the government of the country out of the hands of his Majesty's servants, where it ought to be placed, and to relieve ministers from a large portion of that responsibility which they were constitutionally bound to bear. Situated as he now was, he avowed himself, upon principle, averse to inquiry; but if he happened to be in the other House, where he had passed the greater part of his life, he should, most probably, be a friend to inquiry, but it would be with a view to impeachment. For he really thought it was a thing not to be silently endured, that the late Administration should leave the country to their successors in a state of utter confusion and dissolution of society, without having vengeance taken on them.

Several noble Lords rose to order.

Lord TEYNHAM having risen first, was heard. He put it to their Lordships if the noble Earl had not transgressed the rules of that House, by using such a term as vengeance in reference to any noble Lord?

Earl STANHOPE read a passage bearing upon the subject from the Order Book.

Earl RADNOR resumed. He did not mean to allude personally to any noble Lord. He spoke merely of the late Administration. He retracted the term vengeance, and was sorry he had used it; but their Lordships must have observed that words did not come very freely to him. To the opinion, however, he adhered, that there should be some examination with a view to the punishment of those who had brought the country into its present state. To return to the question moved by the noble and learned Lord, he would not now vote for a Committee of Inquiry, although he had done so last session, because he thought circumstances were most materially changed. The present administration had only been three weeks in office, and on the first day of their accession, the noble Earl had taken occasion to declare, that he would take the state

of the country into his earliest consideration, and that he would as speedily as possible propose some remedy. He was therefore, justified in maintaining that they were in a totally different state from that of last year, when all inquiry was refused. In saying this, however, he begged to be understood as having no blind confidence in the Government; he would watch their measures, though he was anxious at all times to give them his support. There was yet another objection to a committee being voted at present. Parliament was likely to be adjourned in a few days (indeed he might observe incidentally, that it was a great hardship that Government could not have adjourned it at once, for its sitting must be a great cause of distraction to them, from the anxious attention they were required to devote to the state of affairs, arising from the lamentable condition in which the country had been left by their predecessors), and from this early adjournment the committee could only sit one or two days. And he was convinced each noble Lord would do better service by going down to their estates and mixing with their tenants, than by sitting there and examining witnesses upon things which they could learn better by personal observation. He ridiculed the idea of fixing a limit either as regarded machinery or the currency. If the noble Earl did not redeem his pledges after Christmas, it would then be time enough for the noble and learned Lord to bring forward a motion. He regretted to observe, that the links which bound society together were broken. The whole State was sore, and its wounds required to be treated with a healing hand. He trusted they would be so treated, although some strokes of severity would, he lamented to think, be necessary at first. For fifty years the people had been treated by the Government of this country, not as the children who were to be loved and cherished, but as enemies who were to be kept at a distance. The noble and learned Earl well knew this was the case. It was urged by noble Lords that the distressed people should have pursued another course—that they should have petitioned; but did they not petition, and were not their petitions disregarded? For ten years they had petitioned for some Reform in Parliament; but their petitions were not even read. After this long endurance of evil, it was not to be wondered at that they were disturbed. Of his own knowledge he could declare the distress was frightful. An able-bodied and industrious young man in the parish with which he was connected had in vain applied for work. His allowance from the parish was 2s. 6d. a week. Could he subsist on this? What was he to do? The condition of the country was lamentable; but he hoped, from the zeal and talents of the Administration, that they would be able to establish peace. He trusted they might go on and prosper. The last thing in his desires would be to embarrass the present Government.



The Duke of WELLINGTON:—My Lords, having voted against a similar motion in the last Session, it is not my intention to vote for the inquiry now proposed by the noble and learned Lord. I am perfectly aware of the difficulties and dangers in which the country is placed. It is not my intention, and it never has been my desire, to extenuate any of them; but I challenge the noble Earl who accuses the late Administration to come to an inquiry upon any part of the conduct of that Administration, to which he attributes the difficulties and dangers of the country, and from which he declares that they proceed. I object to the inquiry in this Session, as I did in the last year, for precisely the same reasons, and for the very reasons stated by the noble Earl. This inquiry, as proposed by the noble and learned Lord, is to extend to the finances of the country—to the system of administering and executing the laws—to the state of the commercial and manufacturing interests—and, as the noble Earl observed, even to machinery. Now, my Lords, it is impossible you can have an Inquiry on all these subjects, without exciting expectations, and involving the country in difficulties and dangers ten times greater than those under which it at present suffers. In addition to these reasons, it is not just towards the Administration who have so lately taken upon themselves the conduct of affairs, that I should seek to involve them in difficulties in which I, myself, objected to be involved last Session. (Hear, hear.) Besides, there is already a Committee sitting above stairs for the purpose of inquiring into the poor-laws, which can enter upon many of the points urged by the noble and learned Lord. That point particularly as to levying rates from manufacturing property, as well as from the land, would, I imagine, come under their attention, together with many other points referred to by the noble and learned Lord, to which I shall not advert from the lateness of the hour, but into which the Committee will undoubtedly enter, as they will into that point I have mentioned. My Lords, as I said before, I do not wish to extenuate the dangers and difficulties of the country; but I must say that the dangers and difficulties of the country did not originate from anything that was done by the late Administration. They originated from the difficulties abroad, and the example, the bad example, given by neighbouring countries, and from the misrepresentations that went forth, and the false ideas that were entertained respecting what had passed in these countries, and from the want of knowledge here of the mischief brought on these countries by misfortunes which had occurred in the course of the last few months. The noble Earl attributes them to us; but I challenge him to say on what point he sounds his charge. With what does he find fault? How could we have acted otherwise than we did? I challenge him to come forward, let him bring his charge, and I shall be ready to answer it. (Hear, hear.)

I am aware of the distress of the labouring poor? but I want to know in what manner Government can interfere so as to procure a remedy for the condition of the poor? In what way could the last or even the present administration remedy the administration of the poor-laws, except by precepts such as those inculcated in the documents which I have heard this night ridiculed, and by the example of each in his own particular station. Legislation on this subject has gone as far as legislation can go. Mischief arises from the mal-administration of the poor-laws by persons who are beyond the control of the Government of the country. I am aware, my Lords, that it has been whispered about that we were not sufficiently attentive to the disturbances when they first occurred. My Lords, from the first moment they occurred the greatest attention was paid to them by the Government. All possible means were adopted to enable the magistrates to get rid of them. Government cannot interfere in the details of justice, which must be administered by the magistrates. It is the business of Government to aid the magistrates with counsel, and with sufficient force (whenver force may be unfortunately necessary); but they cannot interfere in the details. I know, my Lords, that it is whispered by our enemies, that we did not sufficiently attend to the disturbances in the country; but I do declare, that from the first moment I received an intimation of them from my noble Friend, the Lord Lieutenant of Kent (and I believe the circumstances were mentioned to me before any other of his Majesty's servants), every-thing was done to get the better of them. The noble Earl has been pleased to call for vengeance on us. He laid all the distress and disturbance of the country to our charge. Afterwards he referred these calamities to the mal-administration of the last 50 years, which he seemed at least in part to charge upon my noble and learned Friend on the cross benches. He certainly has as much as I to do with it. (Hear, and a laugh.) Until the occurrence of the misfortunes abroad in the months of July and August, all was tranquil here; but since these misfortunes took place, and the lower classes here were taught to think they should follow the bad examples of neighbouring nations, while they were not made aware of the evils which the people of these countries had brought on themselves, difficulties and dangers have existed, and have been increased. During our Administration, we did all we could to relieve the people. In last Session three millions nine hundred thousand pounds' worth of taxation was taken off; and since, the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country generally were in a state of prosperity and tranquillity, except in those districts where there were gross and disgraceful disturbances. My Lords, I have, in consequence of the attack of the noble Earl, trespassed longer on your attention than I otherwise would have done,

or than I trust I shall again find necessary.

The Earl of ELDON observed, that the great consolation to him in his long career was, that he had always been opposed to the noble Earl.

The Motion was not agreed to.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

**REFORM—BALLOT.**—Mr. O'Connell presented three petitions for Reform in Parliament; and he took occasion to say, that, without the Ballot, it was impossible to prevent members being nominated by the House of Lords, in the present state of the country; and that he could not believe that that mode of voting would be opposed by any but those who desired the influence of the Aristocracy over the votes of the people. Whereupon

"Sir ROBERT WILSON rose with considerable vehemence. He felt it imperative upon him to contradict the assertion of the hon. and learned Member who had imputed bad motives to all who did not profess to hold the same opinions with himself (Mr. O'Connell). That learned Gentleman had chosen to denounce as insincere and dishonest the avowed opinions of men whose whole public lives had proved their integrity to be quite equal to that of the Member for Waterford himself. The Ballot was opposed by gentlemen who had come into that House with the sanction of their constituents for that opposition. In the House they did no more than to maintain the opinions which they had professed out of it. (Hear, hear.) It was well known that in the United States of America the ballot had proved to be a deception—a cloak—and encouragement to corruption. By the privacy which it secured, it induced men to sell their votes. (Hear.) The most honourable men had pronounced the ballot to be fallacious and injurious; and, at this moment, there was more fraud practised in those States of America in which the votes were concealed by ballot, than in those in which they were given openly. (Hear.) When the New States of Mexico were about to institute a republic, and some of their wisest and best patriots delibe-

rated upon the best mode of taking votes, the ballot was adopted. When the hon. and learned Member ventured to impugn the integrity of men as honourable as himself, and as attached to liberty, he arrogated to himself a license to which he had no title. (Cheers.) For his part, he (Sir R. Wilson) had, throughout his life, done quite as much as the learned Gentleman for the advancement of freedom; and he, therefore, could not suffer such accusations, which applied to himself, to pass unanswered. While he had the honour of a seat in that House, he would not allow any gentleman's reproaches to daunt him, nor would he suffer any man to direct him in the discharge of his duty. (Cheers, and hear, hear.) He would be influenced only by a conscientious regard for the interests of his constituents. (Hear.)"

Never mind America, Robert, look at France, Robert. And when the ballot is adopted in England, you will not see one single hypocrite—"patriot" in that place, Robert. A Mr. Ruthven very sarcastically told you that you need not put yourself in such a pet, and he tweaked your ear for not being in the House when the division came on which bundled out the late Ministry. Ah! Robert.

**COMMENDAM.**—Lord Althorp announced that the Ministers had advised the King "to abstain from issuing the instrument required for the purpose of suffering Dr. Phillpotts to hold the living of Stanhope together with the Bishopric of Exeter."

**SALARIES.**—Lord Althorp moved for a Committee "to inquire what reductions can be made in the salaries and emoluments of office held during pleasure of the Crown by Members of either House of Parliament." After a long conversation, this was agreed to.

Friday, 9th December.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

**DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.**—Lord RADNOR, on presenting a petition from the Vestry of the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, praying a reduction of taxes pressing particularly upon the poor and industrious part of the

community, referred to something that had passed last night on the subject of the neglect of the distresses of the people by the Administration of the Duke of Wellington. The noble Lord had said, that the petition he now brought forward had been agreed to in June last, and upon the authority of a most respectable timber-merchant, he was able to assert that the condition of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was most deplorable. The rental of the parish was 132,000*l.*, and the poor rates in June last were 34,000*l.*, while the inhabitants were reduced to the lowest state of demoralization by the recklessness occasioned by extreme distress. Shopkeepers formerly taking at the rate of 20*l.* per week did not even in June last do business to the extent of 20*s.* per week. This was a condition that ought to have received the attention of the noble Duke and his colleagues, but they had disregarded it, like the distresses of other parts of the kingdom, and the responsibility of Ministers was but a word, a mere farce, if they were not punishable for such neglect. If they were ignorant of the fact, their ignorance was culpable; if they were not ignorant of it, their apathy was criminal.

The Duke of WELLINGTON called upon the noble Lord in candour to admit that he had not last night alluded to St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, nor to any particular parish, nor, indeed, to all the parishes of the kingdom put together: what the noble Lord had said was, that the country was in a dangerous and difficult situation, that the late Administration found it so, that it was responsible for not having relieved it from that situation, and that it ought to be impeached for its misconduct in this respect. He now again required the noble Lord to bring forward some distinct charge, and to put it in a tangible shape, and when he had done so, he (the Duke of Wellington) should be most ready to meet it, and to indicate the late servants of the Crown. It was not because the noble Lord now brought forward a petition from Shoreditch and supported it by the assertions of a nameless person, that Ministers were to be made responsible for neglect of duty and disregard of the distresses of the country. He (the Duke of Wellington) had said before, and he repeated now, that he could not and would not make himself responsible for any acts but his own. If he had had the power of putting matters to rights, and had acted at the proper time to exercise that power, he agreed that he was so far culpable. He had had nothing to do with the parish of Shoreditch; and were its situation twenty times worse than the noble Lord had described, as he had nothing to do with the parish officers, he could not be answerable. He was sure that the noble Lords opposite must feel that they could do nothing upon such a subject. They might subscribe for the partial relief of distress, and recommend his Majesty to subscribe, but they could do no more; and he believes it would be found, that the late Ministry had not failed in its duty in this

respect, particularly as far as regarded recommendations to his late Majesty. Ministers had, by law, no right to interfere with matters of parish detail, which belonged only to the overseers of the poor. He repeated, that if the noble Lord would make any distinct charge, he should be ready to meet and to refute it.

How obstinate this unfortunate Prince has been in verifying my predictions about him! Step by step he has walked just where I asked him not to walk, and I am sure I warned him in language courteous enough; I never abused him; I gave him no "*coarse language*." I always called him "Prince" (when I thought of it), and I exhorted him, for the sake of his name and his picture, to mind what he did. If he had taken my warnings, he need not now have been listening to the scoldings in the House, the hissings and hootings out of it; he need not have scudded away from the people in the very streets, nor have had guards in his dwelling. But he would not listen!

NEGRO SLAVERY. — Lord NAPIER presented a petition against the continuance of negro slavery; and in doing so, took the opportunity of referring to the proposition he had made on a former night, that a committee of their Lordships should go out to the West India Islands, in order to furnish the House with the best information upon the question of negro slavery, before they undertook to legislate upon it. Before he made that proposition he had had no communication whatever with anybody upon the subject. He had no West India property, he never had had any, and he never expected to have any; but still he felt interested on the subject, from the knowledge of the colonies which his professional life had given him. Since he made the proposition to which he now referred, he had had communications with different gentlemen connected with those places, and he found that they much approved of his plan. As there were several noble Lords who strongly supported the question of the manumission of slaves, and no doubt, whenever the country called on them to undertake the duty of going out as a committee of inquiry to examine into the subject, they would show their perfect readiness to obey the call. He had never once expressed his opinion on the matter, but he would now do so, and would state distinctly, that in his mind slavery in all its branches was a curse, and a heavy curse; but how to remove it was a question which their Lordships could never learn to answer properly in this country alone. Their Lordships must remember, that the colonies were composed of islands taken from other countries during the war, as well as of those which had long



been in possession of this country; and he would defy their Lordships, by any regulation they might make here, to embrace all the different interests that existed in these various islands. It was impossible they could justly understand all these differences, unless they sent out a body of their own members to go there. He was ready, for one, to become a member of that committee; and he was satisfied, that when this appeal was made to those noble Lords, to whom he had before alluded, they would come forward and show their readiness to give their services in favour of the cause they had so often advocated, or, if they did not, they must for ever after hold their peace. (Hear, and a laugh.)

I am so pleased when I come across a piece of common sense, that I cannot help sticking it in at full length. This is sense as to this subject. Nobody can be other than against slavery, whether of whites or blacks; but the question of Negro-slavery, as it comes to our ears here in England, contains hypocrisy, falsehood, and impracticability, all at the same time, and in a degree astonishing. In the first place, the fellows are hypocrites that prate about the *suffering blacks*, and *see with their own eyes* the suffering labouring people of England with callous hearts. They publish lies; I have detected and exposed their deliberate *lies*. They pretend to wish for that which is impracticable; for they pretend to want the practice of keeping slaves in the West Indies to be given up, when they know that they must either remunerate the Planters (which they cannot), or that the West Indies must be suffered to transfer itself to America, which it would be treason in them to effect. The same fellows that are foremost in this, are also foremost in denouncing the reformers as *wild, visionary, designing!* Always mind that. And it is enough for me to see a man sweating and tearing for liberty *on t' other side of the world*. I observed Wilberforce very early in my life: always saw him at this; and always saw him the deadliest foe of any approach to liberty at home.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CHURCH.—Nothing important, except that Mr. Wellesley moved for a “re- turn of all the livings (church) in the

“gift of the Crown, stating the value “of each at the present time, and the “amount at which each is rated in the “King’s books.” Mr. Fyler suggested that this should be extended to all livings; but Mr. Wellesley was not disposed, at present, to do any-thing which “would “have the effect of exciting prejudices “against the Hierarchy. It was for that “reason he had limited his return to “livings in the gift of the Crown.” But we must have the whole, sooner or later, Mr. Wellesley, whether it be prejudicial to the Hierarchy or not. A curious reason to give, by-the-by, and one that the parsons will hardly thank you for; for, of course, then, it would be a disclosure that would *prejudice them!* They had better bring it out at once, for if it is worse than the people suspect, it must be bad indeed!

Saturday, 11th December.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The House met, contrary to custom, on this day; but nothing of great consequence, that I see, occurred, excepting that

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved for Returns of the population of all cities and boroughs in England sending members to Parliament; also a Return of the population of all the towns in England not sending members to Parliament, and containing 10,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1821; and a Return of the population of all the cities and boroughs in Scotland returning members to Parliament; and a Return of the population of all the towns in Scotland not sending members to Parliament, and containing 8,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1821.—Agreed to.

I suppose this is to be the groundwork of the Reform; and now we shall see the accursed rotten boroughs, the source of all the villany, all the speculation, the squandering, and of all the tyranny that was necessary to keep the thing a-going; we shall see these vile things destroyed. But we shall not see *much* done, unless we see the voting by ballot. Look out for that, therefore; and, perhaps, it will not be amiss, throughout the discussion, to look to the notable member for Southwark, the *patriotic soldier*, as a *barometer*: when his quick-silver is *up* (as it was about the ballot the other night), then all is

right; but when it is down, quiescent, look to it! No man on earth has faculties more alive to No. 1. Eyes, ears, and nose—no one deceives him. The House was quite astonished, the other night, at the life he displayed on Mr. O'Connell's eulogy on the ballot! He raved, and then even quitted the House. He took all that O'Connell had said, as pointed at him. To be sure! all his senses told him that *Robert Wilson* would not be member for Southwark any longer than voting by ballot could be kept off. I am not surprised at his dudgeon, faith!

Monday, 13th December.

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

LORD GROSVENOR rose to notice some of the new appointments to offices; but he soon went off to the question of the distress of the country, and said, "If the landed interest were not relieved from some part of the burdens by which it was borne down, it would be completely destroyed; and then, he would ask, what other interest could be upheld? The monied interest would melt into air. It was indispensable to the welfare of the country that the landed interest should be maintained. Those who were interested in the land, being attached to the soil, were not only of necessity devoted to preserve the institutions of the state, but were unable to evade their share of the public burdens. But the monied interest was composed, to a great extent, of persons having no connexion with the country—Jews and Gentiles, inhabitants of France, of Russia, of Germany, in a word, of every part of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, who could at any time withdraw the money from the funds, and escape from any share in the burdens of this country; or, if they should even be inhabitants of England, they might lock up their money in that famous box, of which so much had been said in the House on a former evening, and shelter it from those taxes from which the landed interest had no means of escaping." This Lord Grosvenor, I suppose, begun to find out that he is only a partner in his own estate. I told them all that they would find it out, sooner or later. The estates are being now as quietly transferred from Lords to loan mongers as heart could wish; and this is one of the symptoms of uneasiness felt by this particular Lord. He flatters himself that what he calls his, is really his! Poor man! he has now only a good, a pretty good, stewardship over it. Nothing more important than this was said, in this House, during the rest of the evening.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SLAVERY.—The Marquess of CHANDOS presented a petition from the West India Plan-

ters, Merchants, and others, praying the House not to take steps towards destroying their property until it had afforded them compensation. No one was a greater friend to the slaves than he was, but he could not help seeing that there were two ways proposed of getting rid of slavery in the West Indies—the one was by popular clamour, and the other by remunerating the planter for the loss that he must necessarily sustain. When the question came to be decided, he should unquestionably give his support to the latter of these ways. So great was the clamour on this subject throughout the country, that the West India Proprietors had no chance of having their cause heard, the most vigorous attempts had been made to fetter the Representatives of each borough and county, by a pledge on this subject, and to which no gentleman ought to submit. He himself had at once told his constituents, that though he would vote for the emancipation of the slaves, he could not for a moment disjoin that measure from the question of compensation to their owners. With respect to the other interests of the West Indians, he knew that Government was called on in every direction to make reductions; but he, nevertheless, trusted that they would be able to afford some consideration to the cause of the West Indies, so as to allow its produce to stand a better chance in the market. The petitioners whose cause he was advocating were in no way afraid of inquiry; and he, therefore, hoped that the House, and his Majesty's Ministers, would come forward with a plan for the settlement of the Slave question, and the general remuneration of the planters.

Mr. Marriott complained of the outcry against the West-Indian planters, and illustrated the outcry by stating that a petition against them had been presented to the House by a noble Lord "on the 4th of November, 1830" which spoke of the impropriety of suffering "traffickers in human flesh to hold seats in that House, where they appeared like Satan seated among the sons of God." None of these howling, hypocritical wretches have seen English labourers put up to auction then! None of them have seen them let at auction for the day, week, or month; and, at the expiration of the term put up again, and again let? None of them have seen or heard of their being, in default of bidders, employed to do some degrading thing, some harassing thing, as it were just to remind them of their horrid slavery; something wholly useless, such as carrying a heavy stone for a certain distance and back again, so many times in the day; none of the wretches have heard of these things, I suppose? And of their being shut up away from their wives? None of them have heard of all this? Not one word has ever escaped them about all this, even though it happens in their own country, their own parish; under their own noses. No, on the contrary, the men who are foremost in this hypocritical howl are the loudest bawlers

against "the insubordinate," the "disaffected," and the "designing," who would gladly change all the liberty that they possess to be as well fed and well treated as the negroes are in the West Indies. I am confident that the English labourers, if they could but once conquer the natural repugnance to the term "slave," would, if they could see the condition of the slaves of the West Indies, gladly change lots with them—But there is a branch topic connected with this affair. It is proposed to do away with slavery, because it is *against the laws of God to deal in human flesh*, and yet the people of England are to be taxed to make compensation to the *West India planters for the LOSS OF THEIR PROPERTY!* Well done, **THING**: you won't beat that! Well done, "envy of surrounding nations!" But stop—it is not done yet.

**SALARIES.**—There being a good deal of talk about reducing salaries, and getting rid of useless places, something was said about that of the Lord Privy Seal, whereupon Mr. H. Twiss contended, that it was a great mistake to suppose that the office of Lord Privy Seal was a needless office. With respect to pensions, he begged to say that it was his hope the new Government would not be induced to place the Sovereign in the invidious position of creating an *immense mass of private distress*. Reduction, he insisted, ought to be confined to offices during pleasure. Those emoluments ought not to be taken away which might be considered as *vested interests*. If the advocates of retrenchment and reform proceeded too far in their demands, **THEY** would entirely defeat their own object.

I put this in for fun's sake. This person was one of the Under-Secretaries of State in the last Ministry, and is Examiner of Patents in the present Ministry. His ideas of distress are truly amusing; but by this we may measure the degree of *feeling for the country* that is entertained by this class of persons. And this is a *representative of the people*, mind, and has been for many years!

**ARMY.**—Mr. HUME asked Lord Althorp if it was true, as rumoured, that the Government meant to increase the army, by adding 6,000 men to the present establishment. To which Lord Althorp replied, that "as to the question which had been asked by the hon. Gent. it was with regret that he should give a reply to it, for he felt sorry to disappoint him; but truth compelled him to state, that the circumstances of the country had reduced his Majesty's Government to the necessity of making up their minds to propose the increase of the army to the extent mentioned. (Hear, hear.) But he could at the same time assure the House, that every effort would be made to effect that addition in the cheapest manner possible. He was sure the House would concur with him in thinking, that at the present moment it was no matter of surprise that the Government should come forward with a proposition for the increase of the army. He was averse

as any man could be to desiring to govern by military force; but when riot and disorder every-where prevailed, the first duty of the Government was to put it down." Sir MATTHEW W. RIDLEY said, "he would gladly learn how there could be any saving, so long as the country had to pay 30,000,000*l.* for interest of the Debt? The establishments of the country did not amount to more than 17,000,000*l.* He earnestly wished to see taxes reduced, but he confessed frankly that he saw no hope of any such happy consummation." That's it, Sir Matthew; that's the truth. It's all your own mess. What! have you nothing to hope for but in the peaceable starving of the labouring people, and, in their turn, the farmers and tradesmen? But that won't take place; they will shove it more and more upon your shoulders, and down you, or the fands, go.

Tuesday 11th December.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

**Jews.**—Lord Bexley presented a petition from English Jews, calling for a removal of civil disabilities. His Lordship "concurred in the prayer, and believed that the petitioners yielded to no other subjects of the Crown in loyalty and good conduct."

**TITHES.**—Lord King presented a petition from Southampton praying for the redress of grievances, and especially for the removal of tithes. Lord King supported the petition, and characterised tithes as "a public nuisance, injurious to the landlord, as it made a positive deduction from his rent, oppressive to the cultivator, as it rendered the gains of his labours uncertain, injurious to the capitalists, as it prevented the employment of capital upon the land. He wished to see some arrangement by which the lands of Deans and Chapters, who were utterly useless as Ministers of religion, should be made available for the support of the working clergy. He hoped to see entirely cleared away from the Church all the cumbrous lumber of golden and of brazen Prebends, together with the Deans and Chapters."

**THE BISHOP OF LONDON** said, that the noble Lord (King) had stated, with truth, that repeated and vehement attacks had of late been made upon the system of tithes. Why that sort of property should be attacked more than other property in land, which, as well as tithes, was possessed only by virtue of the laws (hear), he (the Bishop of London) could not explain, unless it were, because the Clergy, of whom they were the property, were the weaker party. No man more than the right rev. Prelate could be convinced of the claims of the country in its present state on the consideration of their Lordships. He knew, from many years' experience as a parochial clergyman, that the agricultural labourers generally were suffering under great distress; which, however, was attributable not to the tithe-system, but to the unfortunate administration of the poor-laws



(hear); concerning which great mistakes had been committed. Another important cause of the distress would be found in the years of false prosperity, during which all classes, both clergy and laity, except the lower orders, had acquired habits of luxury, from which it was very difficult to descend, when the appearance of prosperity had passed away. But all those classes were now prepared to make any arrangements which, after due deliberation, might seem likely to relieve the distress. He admitted that tithes had been raised in the same proportion as rents had been raised, and he thought it reasonable that both should go on *pari passu*. Every sound economist knew that tithes were really a second rent. If they should cease to be collected, their amount would go to increase the rent of the landlord. The Clergy were entitled to their rent not only by immemorial usage, but by tithes, as ancient and as legitimate as those by which the landlords themselves held their states.

I used to tell the Hampshire parsons that they would have their tithes taken from them one day or other, if they did not mind. I used to warn them; and, oh, God! how they had abuse and blackguard me for my warnings!

#### MIDDLESEX MEETING.

At this meeting on Wednesday which was very numerously attended, the following petition was agreed to.

To the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The humble Petition of the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, at a meeting duly convened by the Sheriffs, and held at the Mermaid Tavern, Hackney, the 15th day of December, 1830.

"Showeth—That your Petitioners are deeply and anxiously impressed with alarm at the present unparalleled distressed condition of the people of this once happy, prosperous, and flourishing country.

"That they have seen that commerce has long been carried on upon an insecure basis, and distrust has for many years past pervaded the ranks of tradesmen, and that the productive classes have been, year after year, sinking into misery and misfortune, and that at last, unable any longer to bear up under their numberless oppressions and privations, and stimulated by hunger and resentment, the poor have become the reckless destroyers of that food and property which they heretofore industriously laboured to produce and protect.

"That, in the opinion of your humble Petitioners, these evils, and many others which have long afflicted the country, have been produced by wasteful expenditure of money, which has been extracted under the sanction of oppressive laws from the labours of our industrious people. By the enormous expenses incurred for wars carried on against the

rights and liberties of mankind; by the ruinous transition in the nominal value of property, consequent upon unreasonable changes in the currency; by the transition from a restrictive system of commerce, to one of comparative freedom, unaccompanied by a reservation for cheap bread; by the cruelly oppressive character of the Corn Laws, through which the landlord was enabled to extract high rents from the farmer; and hence the farmers were compelled to reduce the wages of the labourers almost to starvation; by the pernicious tithe-system, under the operation of which, the cultivators of the land had been reduced to look upon those who should be their best friends as their bitterest enemies; by a system which has in many instances prevented the cultivation of land—thereby lessened the quantity of the labourers food; by the cruel and sanguinary Game Laws, from the effects of which the labourers have been converted into poachers, and the poachers into nocturnal thieves; by the maladministration of the just and humane Poor Laws, which, in thousands of instances, have caused the labourer to be deprived of his wages, and his half-starved family to be deprived of that relief to which they were justly entitled by law; by the expence of supporting unnecessarily a large standing army during fifteen years of undisturbed peace; by the extravagant and unmerited salaries, sinecures, and pensions, paid to public men, their wives and their daughters.

"That these and many other abuses exist, which your Petitioners will not occupy your time by describing, because your humble Petitioners have already repeatedly laid them before your Honourable House.

"Your humble Petitioners, therefore, earnestly pray that they may be spared the further misery of such abuses, and protected against similar inflictions for the future, by such Reform in your Honourable House as shall give to the people their due influence in framing every measure of Parliament; which Reform, in the opinion of your Petitioners, can neither be useful nor satisfactory to the people, if it do not secure to them such Parliaments, the right of voting to every man who contributes to the taxes and parochial rates, and that only security for pure and incorruptible elections—vote by ballot: and it is the firm opinion of your humble Petitioners, that if Reform to this extent be not speedily adopted, the people of this country will become the victims of all the calamities and horrors of a civil war."

A similar one to the King was carried.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1830.

#### INSOLVENT.

DEC. 10.—RENNY, J. H., South Sea chambers, Threadneedle-street, merchant.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

PARRIS, J. F., Maida-hill, Paddington, brick-maker.

THORINGTON, H. J., Battle-bridge-wharf, builder.

### BANKRUPTS.

BAGLEY, D., Sedgley, Staffordshire, pig-iron-maker.

BEDDALL, J. and P., High Holborn, carpenters.

FENN, W. H., Old 'Change, tea-dealer.

HODSOLL, J., Farringham, Kent, miller.

JACKSON, D. and P., Manchester, carvers and gilders.

KELLY, T., Liverpool, grocer.

KETTEL, G., Tunbridge-Wells, coal-dealer.

LAING, J., Colleydean, Fifeshire, and Stanmore, Middlesex, grazier.

MALYON, I., Old Kent-road, pawnbroker.

MARSHALL, J., Dartford, paper-mould-maker.

MATTHEWS, J., Bristol and Bath, picture-dealer.

NICOLL, J., Liverpool, sail-maker.

SCHOFIELD, W., Clerkenwell-close, silver-spoon manufacturer.

SMITH, B., jun., Birmingham, factor.

TAYLER, J., London-road, St. George's-fields, cheesemonger.

WALKER, J., Portsmouth, merchant.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1830.

### INSOLVENT.

DEC. 13.—BALDWIN, E., Manningham, Yorkshire, worsted-spinner.

### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

SPURRIER, W. J., Poole, merchant.

### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

POCOCK, S., Brighthelmstone, painter.

### BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, J., Cock-lane, West Smithfield, brass-founder.

BROOKS, T., Manchester, haberdasher.

DONALD, J., Hayton, Cumberland, cattle-salesman.

GLOVER, J., Wigan, Lancashire, draper.

GLOVER, S., Portland-road, Marylebone, bricklayer.

HAGART, J., Lawrence-lane, Cheapside, tea-dealer.

HAWES, R. B., and C. Smith, Horsley-street, Walworth, builders.

HEDDON, J., and H. Heddon, Westminster Bridge-road, linen-drapers.

HODSOLL, J., Farningham, Kent, miller.

KILLAM, W., Kirtton in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, victualler.

LANGFORD, J., Dorrington-grove, Shropshire, farmer.

SEAMAN, J., Tooting, Surrey, brewer.

THICK, T., Little Randolph-street, Camden-town, plasterer.

TIRPIN, J., and George Armitage, Doncaster, coach-makers.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN EXCHANGE, DEC. 13.—The quantity of English Wheat we had fresh in for this morning's market was rather large than otherwise; but for fine samples we had a tolerably free demand, and on full as high

terms as were obtained last Monday; the middling and inferior sorts were very unsaleable, and if any thing rather lower, with some quantity remaining unsold. No alteration in Flour. Fine malting Barley sold readily this morning at an advance of 1s. per quarter since this day sen'night; the inferior sorts are not saleable. Beans of both sorts, both Old and New, are also from 1s. to 2s. per quarter dearer, and Oats 1s.; but White and Grey Peas are cheaper, the former full 4s. per quarter, and the latter 1s. per quarter. For other articles we refer to the annexed currency.

Wheat .....	55s. to 60s.
Rye .....	28s. to 32s.
Barley .....	30s. to 37s.
— fine .....	38s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	40s. to 46s.
— Boilers .....	48s. to 50s.
— Grey .....	30s. to 32s.
Beans, Small .....	35s. to 45s.
— Tick .....	35s. to 43s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	30s. to 33s.
— Poland .....	28s. to 29s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.
Rape Seed, per last .....	30l. to 44l.

SMITHFIELD—Dec. 13.

There was to-day a very large Christmas show of cattle, and of course much good meat. The top price of the general trade is about 4s. 6d.; but those who pick the market for particular things have, no doubt, given more as they justly should. Middling beef has experienced no improvement, not being the sort just now looked after, and many will be found out. This is the largest market of horses we have had for several years. There was a good show from the West country, and, as usual, some excellent Herefords. The Durhams, improved short-horns, seldom form numbers in the trade of this market.—The motion trade is much the same as last week, with the exception of choice Downs, which have obtained 4s. 6d. A few prime big Leicesters show at the shops have also sold well. The top price for the best Veal was 5s. 4d. The number at market this day were—Horses, 4,557; Calves, 169; Sheep, 20,560; Pigs, 21.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 17.

The supplies are larger than for some time past, but the prices remain the same as on Monday, with but little business doing.

English arrivals.	Foreign.	Ind.
Flour . . . . .	7,800	
Wheat . . . . .	2,850	1,150
Barley . . . . .	9,350	1,550
Oats . . . . .	7,500	1,350

### THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	82½	82½	82½	82½	82½

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